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Friday, December 9, 1983

THE JERUSALEM POST

القدس ٩ كانون الأول ١٩٨٣

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lopes dashed as tevedores hold out

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

FA — The stevedores here yesterday afternoon to carry their 12-day-old go-slow strike their Ashdod colleagues. Their surprise decision was taken in a mass meeting, following a decision by the Ashdod men in the morning. The Ashdod port committee had pleaded with Haifa colleagues not to join them in their fight, and the men acquiesced in this appeal. The Haifa committee had earlier accepted the Ports Authority's terms for wage rises in return for increasing output, and the morning persuading it to accept this settlement. The go-slow came as a great disappointment to shipping circles. Men in both ports say they continue to defy the labour orders to resume full work. The Ports Authority used its strategy on Haifa as a warning, and thus isolating Ashdod men.

amenable to the Port Authority's conditions for higher norms and smaller working gangs in return for higher wages, as it would have made only about 10 per cent of the 600 stevedores in the port redundant. Most of these would have been men with 30 or more years of service, meaning early retirement benefits that would have softened the loss of their jobs.

In Ashdod, however, the efficiency plan would have made as many as 300 of the 800 stevedores redundant, because the more militant Ashdod stevedores had resisted such efficiency measures for the past decade. Moreover, the average age in the younger Ashdod port is considerably lower, and the men facing dismissal would need new jobs to augment their smaller pension benefits. Because of this, the Ashdod Labour Council is backing their tougher stand. It also does not want dozens of unemployed men on its hands.

Macabee Dean adds:
The Citrus Marketing Board decided to distribute between 150 and 200 tons of fruit to schoolchildren in development towns. The board said that since the citrus is not being loaded fast enough, it would either rot or have to be destroyed.

The first delivery will leave (Continued on Page 17)



Persimmons destined for export were dumped near Netanya yesterday because of a go-slow at Ashdod and Haifa ports.

Levy may have hurt his own chances

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

If Deputy Prime Minister David Levy had any chance of being appointed foreign minister, that chance has now been greatly reduced by Levy's own public conduct. This was the assessment of informed sources last night, following Levy's public assertion that Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's "credibility and collegiality" were at stake if he did not appoint him foreign minister. (News background, page 2).

Shamir and Levy are expected to meet alone this morning to discuss — and presumably attempt to ease — the now open feud between them.

Yesterday, Shamir held a special consultation of Herut ministers which Levy declined to attend. The Herut Party secretariat decided last night to hold a special

meeting next week with all Herut cabinet ministers participating to discuss the situation that has been created by Levy's bid for the foreign affairs portfolio.

Some political observers felt that Levy himself had concluded he had no chance of being named foreign minister and thus he had nothing to lose from attacking the premier in public.

But there was much speculation as to what Levy hoped to gain from the attack.

Levy's attack came in an impromptu press conference with newsmen in his hometown, Beit Shean, on Wednesday night. (It was reported in yesterday's *Jerusalem Post*.) He reiterated his claim that he had reached "an understanding" with the premier about the foreign affairs portfolio, and railed against "those purporting to be 'sources'" (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Patience of MNF states is limited

BRUSSELS (AP) — The U.S. and its three partners in the multinational peace-keeping force yesterday expressed their determination to remain in Lebanon. But there were suggestions their patience could run out if solutions to Lebanon's problems do not emerge soon.

"I'm sure there are the realities of the patience of various publics," said a U.S. spokesman. A British source restated his country's position that its commitment is not open-ended.

Secretary of State George Shultz held a breakfast meeting in his hotel suite with the foreign ministers of Britain, France and Italy — the nations that have contributed troops to the multinational peace-keeping force.

The U.S. spokesman said the four ministers were agreed on the urgent need for efforts at national reconciliation in Lebanon to succeed. The Reagan administration is pushing Lebanese President Amin Gemayel to do more to bring dissident factions into the government and to extend its authority over more of the country, he said.

Jemayel is to visit London next Tuesday for talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

(Pressure on Reagan — P. 2, Col. 2)

UN adamant on giving Arafat its protection

Rejects Israel's appeal

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday rejected a request by Israel that it withdraw the permission it has given Palestinian terrorists to leave Tripoli under the symbolic protection of the UN flag.

In a statement, quoted by Reuters, he said the authorization, approved unanimously by the Security Council last Saturday, was given on "purely humanitarian grounds."

In a letter to Perez de Cuellar, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir cited the PLO's assumption of responsibility for Tuesday's bus-bomb in Jerusalem, in which four persons died and dozens were wounded. "It is inconceivable," Shamir wrote, that the UN should help Arafat and his men depart Tripoli.

There was no hint in the letter of whether Israel proposed to act independently to prevent Arafat's departure — as two cabinet ministers have proposed.

But well-placed sources consider this most unlikely.

These sources said last night the cabinet had yet to take a formal decision on whether Israel should act. Earlier in the day, when asked about proposals by Ministers Ariel Sharon and Yitzhak Moda'i that Israel move against Arafat in Tripoli, Shamir said "all proposals" would be considered.

Moda'i, at last Sunday's cabinet, suggested that Israel capture Arafat before he can embark.

Sharon, in media interviews, has said it would be a "grave mistake" for Israel to allow the PLO chief to escape from Tripoli alive.

Shamir's letter read:

"On Tuesday, December 6, the terrorist organization known as PLO, which is headed by Yasser Arafat, assumed responsibility for the explosion in a bus in Jerusalem.

This barbarous act was perpetrated against passengers on a regular city bus and was clearly aimed to kill the maximal number of Jews — women and children.

Four persons were killed in the outrage, Yehuda Kaplan, aged 77, Laslo Dansky, aged 50, and two girls, Esther Adi, 11, and Nurit Pollack, 14.

There were 43 wounded of whom 10 are still in critical condition, among them Nurit Pollack's sister.

In light of this horrendous crime perpetrated by the PLO terrorists, it is inconceivable that the UN, which is dedicated to the preservation of human life and the enhancement of peace, should provide them with any assistance or facilities whatsoever.

Accordingly I request you to cancel the arrangements that have been made to give them safe conduct under the UN flag."

Reuters quotes Arafat's spokesman as saying in Tripoli that France and Greece have agreed to provide warships to escort the terrorist leader and his men.

The PLO asked for the military escort on Wednesday because of fears that the Israel Navy would intercept the four Greek ships evacuating them.

Spokesman Ahmed Abdel-Rahman told reporters that the PLO had also asked Italy to send warships, but had not yet received a formal reply.

The evacuation is due to take place within 13 days under an agreement between Arafat and Syrian-backed rebels within the PLO who advanced to the edges of Tripoli in heavy fighting last month.

The spokesman said the first of six Greek ships, four passenger liners and two cargo ships to carry weapons, would arrive in Tripoli port tonight.

In Athens, however, a Greek Merchant Marine Ministry spokesman denied any had yet set sail. The ministry was still considering tenders from shipping companies, he said.

Maccabi TA beaten

Maccabi Tel Aviv were beaten 74-65 by Cantu last night in their opening match in the European Basketball Cup. (See page 4)

ices rise on basic foods

Post Economic Reporter

Increases of up to 25 per cent in basic commodities were announced at midnight by the Ministry in its continuing campaign to cut subsidies.

Prices of standard bread, eggs, products and nos. 1 and 2 chickens were raised by 15 per cent. The price of the no. 3 was raised by 10 per cent. The price of white bread was raised by 20 per cent, and cooking oil by 25 per cent.

The price of margarine was raised by 23 per cent, meaning that its subsidy was eliminated entirely. Frozen meat has not been subsidized for some time, but the Treasury increased its price by 25 per cent to encourage consumption of local meat.

The Treasury estimates that as a result of these measures, the consumer price index will go up by 1.5 per cent for December.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

ns to New York

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — Defence Secretary Denis Healey is to receive an honorary doctorate from a University in New York on Monday. So far, he has not been in Washington.

no one here is ruling out that Healey, given the need to maintain high-level contacts between Britain and Jerusalem in the midst of the tense situation in the Middle East.

Healey has still not named his joint mission to the U.S.-Israeli joint military group which is slated to formally discuss cooperation during its first visit in early January.

U.S. chairman is Admiral Arthur W. C. ...

... the director of the Department's political/military bureau. But unlike the Israeli expected to select a Ministry official — possibly Director-General Aluf (res) Meron — to be Israel's legate.

... slide in Lebanon

IT (Reuters). — Four people ...

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... in eastern Lebanon yesterday ...

... sources said.

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

6.12.1983	MIN.	MAX.	WIND	WEATHER
AMSTERDAM	3	27	4	Clear
BRUSSELS	5	11	6	Cloudy
BUEENOS AIRES	10	14	4	Clear
CHICAGO	10	14	4	Clear
COPENHAGEN	2	28	3	Clear
FRANKFURT	4	18	4	Cloudy
GENEVA	6	22	5	Clear
HELSINKI	3	27	1	Cloudy
HONG KONG	16	21	22	Clear
JOHANNESBURG	14	17	18	Rain
LISBON	5	11	10	Rain
LONDON	5	11	10	Rain
MADRID	3	27	7	Clear
MONTREAL	18	0	12	Snow
NEW YORK	2	26	8	Cloudy
OSLO	4	28	3	Cloudy
PARIS	1	30	8	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	19	26	32	Clear
SAO PAULO	17	28	32	Clear
STOCKHOLM	2	28	3	Clear
TOKYO	8	14	17	Clear
TORONTO	18	0	12	Snow
VIENNA	0	32	3	Cloudy
ZURICH	8	23	8	Clear

* For the latest weather conditions, contact Swissair.
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Haifa, 2 Sea Road (04) 84655

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy, local rain.
Outlook for Saturday: Partly cloudy.

Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
Humidity	Humidity	Humidity
Jerusalem	59	7-16
Golan	54	7-16
Nahariya	64	7-16
Safed	75	7-16
Haifa Port	62	16-21
Tiberias	65	11-20
Nazareth	66	11-19
Alula	57	7-22
Shomron	47	9-18
Tel Aviv	57	12-20
B-G Airport	86	12-20
Jericho	91	11-21
Gaza	62	11-21
Beersheva	74	14-20
Kilat	56	10-19

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Connie Lih-Jin de Gereda Asturias, wife of the ambassador of Guatemala, gave a tea party recently for the wives of the chiefs of the diplomatic missions in Israel to inform them of the activities of the Variety Club of Israel.

The Moriah Conservative (Mesorati) congregation of Haifa has installed Rabbi Chaim Thaler as its new rabbi.

Hugh Chance, of the Bahi World Centre, will speak (in English) on "The Bahai's in Khmeini's Iran" at the Haifa Maritime and Economics Club, Zion Hotel, at 1 p.m. today. Table reservations by phone 529818.

Hurry Hurwitz, adviser to the prime minister, will speak on "The Propaganda Battle in the U.S." at Moadon Haaleh, 9 Rehov Alkali, Jerusalem at 8.30 p.m. on Monday, under the auspices of the South African Zionist Federation, Jerusalem branch. The public is invited.

Prize to Herzog

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LONDON. — The annual H.H. Wingate prize for Jewish literature was awarded here last night jointly to President Chaim Herzog for his *The Arab-Israeli Wars* and to Chaim Raphael for his *The Springs of Jewish Life*.

PRICES UP

(Continued from Page One)

	Old Price	New Price
standard bread	11.1	12.8
halla	11.1	12.8
cooking oil (litre)	78.50	98.50
margarine (200 gr)	15.8	19.7
milk (litre)	30.8	35.7
cottage cheese	34	39.8
butter	25	28.8
lobes	11.9	13.4
eggs (no.1)	7.4	8.5
eggs (no.3)	6.8	7.8
frozen chicken	209	240.
(nos. 1 & 2)	189	165
frozen chicken (no. 3)	382	470
frozen meat ground	356	438
beef ribs	317	398
brisket	421	518
shoulder		

GIRL SHOT DEAD

(Continued from Page One)
Established adjacent to Joseph's tomb in Nablus in order to pressure the government to adopt more drastic measures to curb unrest and rock-throwing in the area. The settlers said that they were giving the government a month to prove that the promises the settlers had been given would be implemented.

Military sources last night clarified a Jordanian report that the bridges across the Jordan had been closed following Tuesday's bomb attack in Jerusalem.

No special restrictions have been placed on people entering the West Bank from Jordan nor on the export of goods to Jordan. However, greater care is being taken with people wishing to leave the area, the sources confirmed.

Several young men were detained last night after a hand grenade was thrown at a military vehicle in Gaza at 7 p.m. No one was hurt and no damage was done, it was reported.

NEWS BACKGROUND/Asher Wallfish

Levy's demand is exercise in brinkmanship

The absence of Deputy Prime Minister and Housing Minister David Levy from the consultation between Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and a few top Herut ministers yesterday morning is the latest manifestation of the agitation within the country's ruling political party concerning the pecking order.

We are not witnessing turmoil presaging a split, such as the Labour movement suffered in the past, nor the departure of a political figure into the wilderness, in the way that former defence minister Ezer Weizman picked up and left public life.

What we are seeing is an exercise in brinkmanship between Levy on the one hand, and all the other seven Herut ministers on the other. This brinkmanship, like most political brinkmanship, will most probably find a settlement which both sides can live with, however uncomfortable it may seem to them.

But because Levy feels disadvantaged, cheated, and crowded by odds of seven to one, his irritation and (some say) his inordinate sensitivity may prompt him to go too far in fencing with seven opponents. He could conceivably pass the point of no return, which spells political death.

The issue is Levy's demand to be given the Foreign Ministry portfolio which Shamir continues to hold as prime minister. Some of Levy's followers say the deputy premier got "a promise" from Shamir, but Levy himself says he got "an understanding" from Shamir about the portfolio. Now Levy says he wants a definite "yes" or "no."

The foreign ministry is a substantial portfolio, but its value is symbolic as well. Levy wants it because it's the only prestigious job standing empty just now, when the premiership, defence and finance are filled. However impressive it sounds to be a deputy premier, as Levy is, it carries no power and it commands no patronage. No wonder the glittering title of deputy premier lost its sparkle in Levy's eyes when Shamir, away in Washington, did not even bother to make him privy by phone or cable to a handful of state secrets.

Levy is asking for the foreign ministry because he needs to prove to himself that the 40

per cent support he collected at the Herut Party Central Committee, which gave Shamir 60 per cent support and the premiership, has real meaning. He wants it translated into patronage, a national image and a permanent entry into the highest councils in the land.

The other seven Herut ministers want to prove just the opposite. They want to keep Levy in his place. They want to show him (if they can, though perhaps they cannot) that the support he mustered at the Herut Central Committee a few months ago was a flash-in-the-pan. They want to signal to him that Begin's departure, and the subsequent reshuffle within the leadership, has not established a permanent new pecking order, and that Levy is still a grade-B cabinet minister.

Levy is irritated beyond all measure, battling against such enormous odds. He has far more than pulled his own weight at election times, having proven to be Herut's biggest vote-catcher after Menachem Begin. Now, with Begin gone, he knows how much his party, and the Likud bloc, need him.

Levy is also irritated because he believes the 40:60 per cent ratio in the Herut Central Committee showed that it took seven cabinet ministers pulling together to mobilize Shamir's 60 per cent support. That may sound like oversimplification to some, but not to David Levy.

The other seven Herut ministers feel themselves threatened by Levy's popularity. They regard him as too big for his boots already. So they are reluctant to see him get the foreign ministry as a prize for his new stardom.

David Levy also resents the emergence of a troika at the head of Herut and at the head of the government: Shamir, Defence Minister Moshe Arens and Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad. He and other Herut politicians believe that Shamir has shaped this "kitchen cabinet" around himself, which Levy attends sometimes but not always. It appears to him that matters are brought to the cabinet after having been "cooked" beforehand by Shamir, Arens and Cohen-Orad.

Levy does not object to the existence of the "kitchen cabinet" system, made famous by the

late prime minister Golda Meir. What he wants is to be a member of it, in his own right.

Shamir is thought to be very satisfied with the troika which he heads. All three of them are comparable, in their hawkish outlooks. All three of them got their jobs more because of their capacities, then because of support for them in the party machinery or the party branches. All three are introspective and unemotional. None is the sort of politician who looks at himself each morning in the mirror and asks whether he is gaining ground or slipping.

Shamir does not feel inclined to expand the troika, and let a fourth man in who worries about his public image. It does not make for tranquil, smooth government.

Shamir also does not want populists or politicians whose ambitions are always showing to be too close to him. He would certainly not want to see Levy succeeding him one day, but rather Arens, who is 13 years older than Levy, the "baby" among the Herut ministers, at 45.

The fact that Levy talks a politically dovish language is not the reason why the other seven Herut ministers have ganged up against him. He has set his sights on getting the premiership, sooner or later. Since his potential rivals talk a hawkish language, he has to establish a contrary image. If Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon for any reason were suddenly to change into a superdove, Levy would turn into a superhawk.

Levy's seven opponents want to keep him in his place because his political style is not in harmony with the traditions of the "fighting family" (as the inner core of Herut veterans is called) any more than is the political style of Sharon. With all their awareness of Levy's value to the party, they want him to wait his turn and not jump the queue.

Levy's problem is that he does not want to wait another 10 years until both Shamir and Arens have had their turn at the tiller. He believes, moreover, that political advancement should not depend on age, seniority or membership in the Irgun Zvai Leumi underground which dissolved when he was only 10 years old.

LEVY'S CHANCES

(Continued from Page One)

close to Shamir, who were spreading hostile stories about him in the media and intimating that he would not get the post.

Levy, in effect, challenged Shamir to disavow these nameless "sources" and to give him the portfolio; otherwise, he would "draw the appropriate conclusions."

The prime minister is understood to have been deeply angered by Levy's recourse to the media for the second time in one week. Last Friday, just hours before Shamir returned home from the U.S., Israel Radio reported that Levy was annoyed at not having been sent cable reports of the talks with President Ronald Reagan during the week. Shamir-upbraided him for this at the cabinet on Sunday.

Indeed, that upbraiding was interpreted by some political observers — and possibly by Levy himself — as a signal that Shamir did not intend to make Levy foreign minister. These observers noted that the premier, who is also foreign minister, had pointedly not named Levy acting foreign minister, as well as acting premier, while he (Shamir) was in Washington.

Shamir has never confirmed Levy's repeated claim that there is an "understanding" between them over the Foreign Ministry. He has certainly never acknowledged an outright commitment on his part to name Levy to the post.

Yet, one of Levy's foremost political supporters, Michael Kleiner MK (Likud-Herut), asserted in a radio interview yesterday that the premier's commitment had been made "unequivocally."

Special security teams to search buses in TA

TEL AVIV (Itm). — Teams of police sappers, members of Hiba (women doing military service in police forces) and Hagah have been established to carry out selective checks of city buses and bus stops here.

The special teams will guard against acts of terrorism and will in-

struct drivers and passengers on the subject.

Tel Aviv district police commander Nitzav Avraham Turgeon urged the public yesterday to increase its vigilance against suspicious people and objects and to summon the police immediately when in doubt.

He said it had been made in a conversation between the two men immediately after their contest in the Herut Central Committee over the premiership in September, following Menachem Begin's resignation.

As regards Levy's "going public" and the embarrassment this had caused to the party and government, Kleiner said it was far more honourable to speak out openly than through anonymous "sources."

At the Herut ministers' meeting yesterday, according to informed sources, Shamir won a staunch show of support. The ministers are understood to have shared the premier's view that Levy had hurt the party by his behaviour. (Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon was not present since he is abroad.)

The informed sources said Levy was asked to attend the meeting, but despite several telephoned invitations he preferred to stay away. Opinions were divided among political observers as to Levy's motives. Some felt he actually seeks to precipitate early elections, calculating that his political strength can only decline in the present situation. These observers believe that an outright rebellion by Levy could bring the government down.

Another view was that Levy, known to be extremely sensitive, acted impetuously in the face of extensive media hints, apparently emanating from the prime minister's immediate circle, that he would not be given the Foreign Ministry post.

Congregation Mevakesh Derekh
Jewish Theological Seminary of America
Jewish Welfare Board
School of Education
Hebrew University
Jewish Institute of Religion

Join in honouring the memory of
Prof. MORDECAI M. KAPLAN ז"ל

Sunday, 5 Tavat 5744 (Dec. 11, 1983) at 6:00 p.m. in the temporary quarters of Congregation, Mevakesh Derekh, Gymnasium Rehavia, Keren Kayemet St. Jerusalem
The public is invited
Programme in Hebrew

The unveiling of the tombstone of our beloved
HERSH (ZVI) STISKIN ז"ל

will take place at the end of Sholoshim on Sunday, December 11 at 4:00 p.m. at the Segula, Petah Tikva Cemetery.

There will be a Memorial Lecture on December 11 at 7:30 p.m. at the Young Israel of Kfar Ganim, Petah Tikva.

The Family

American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
JDC-Israel

mourn the passing of
SIDNEY LEIWANT ז"ל

of the JDC Board and
Executive Committee Member since 1978

Ralph I. Goldman
Executive Vice President, AJJDC

Henry Taub
President, AJJDC

Zev Hymowitz
Director, JDC-Israel



Former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance (left), his wife Grace and Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kolek pause for sweet refreshments yesterday during a tour of the Old City and East Jerusalem. After the tour, Vance left for a three-day visit to Jordan. (Dayan Centre lecture — page 9)

(Yossi Zamir)

Universities' representative accuses Orgad of 'blackmail'

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The head of the university coordinating committee, legal expert Prof. Yoram Dinstein, has accused the Treasury of blackmailing the universities by refusing to release funds unless they agree to a massive budget cut.

Dinstein, rector of Tel Aviv University, said in an interview yesterday that "Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad is practising blackmail. He is holding up IS4.5 billion owed to us in this year's budget until we agree to cut our budget by 8 per cent for next year. This is blackmail."

Earlier this week, the heads of the universities rejected the Treasury demand and re-affirmed their earlier decision to close their doors next Tuesday due to mounting deficits.

Dinstein said that an injection of IS2b. now would enable the universities to stay open. "But once they close, it will take at least twice that

amount to get them open again, because suppliers will have to be paid before they resume services."

He said that since last week the heads of the universities have requested an urgent meeting with Prime Minister Shamir to seek his intervention but have not received a reply.

The head of the prime minister's bureau, Yehiel Kadishai, said yesterday that a meeting among Shamir, the universities and the Treasury would be scheduled early next week. The heads of the universities are due to meet again on Sunday to discuss the situation.

The Treasury spokesman said that the funds for this year have not been released because the universities did not implement the cuts they were supposed to make in last year's budget (1982/83). As for the "blackmail" charge, the spokesman said that "it is not our practice to descend to this level of argument in the media."

Tora Guardians join Kolek's coalition

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Sephardi Tora Guardians, the surprise of the municipal elections in Jerusalem in October, yesterday joined a coalition with Mayor Teddy Kolek's One Jerusalem list.

The addition of the three STG members brings Kolek's coalition to 21 council members. There are 31 seats on the council.

Municipal sources said yesterday that the council members from Poalei Agudat Yisrael will also

probably join the One Jerusalem coalition soon. This will mean that Agudat Yisrael, with its three members, will be isolated from the other religious members. The Aguda has nevertheless promised to be a fighting opposition.

Rabbi Ze'ev Nissim, head of the STG, will get a deputy mayorship and will be given the family and community portfolio. The No. 2 man on the STG list, Rabbi Ya'acov Yosef, will be appointed to the municipal executive board.

Civil servants to start sanctions on Sunday

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The public will not be received in any government office on Sunday and Monday, the Civil Servants Union confirmed yesterday.

The step, which is in response to the Finance Ministry's decision to cut overtime pay and travel allowances, was decided on last week. Reuven Ben-Ami, head of the union, met with Finance Minister

Yigal Cohen-Orad last week on the issue, but said afterwards that the finance minister could not be budged.

Ministry of Communications workers have announced that starting Sunday, no telephones will be repaired.

The Civil Servants Union is to meet next week to discuss intensifying pressure on the government.

Likud sued for IS3.5m. for not paying bills

TEL AVIV (Itm). — A IS3.5 million suit has been filed against the Likud central committee, the Ramat Gan branch of the Likud Party and the Likud elections committee by the Benital Insurance-International company for non-payment for services rendered dur-

ing the last municipal elections. The defence brief has not yet been filed with the Tel Aviv District Court.

The insurance company claims that the three bodies have refused to pay their bills for "lack of funds."

Chamber music series

TEL AVIV. — A series of monthly Friday night chamber music concerts will be inaugurated this evening at the ZOA House here at 9:30 p.m.

CARS. — About 1,700 cars in Jerusalem and Nazareth have been impounded because their owners have not made payments to the National Insurance Institute.

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Myra and Smoky Simon
and children and grandchildren, Israel.
Norman Weinberg of South Africa
and his children in Israel.
Mark and Anushka Weinberg
and children, England.

The funeral will take place on Friday, 9th December, 1983 at the Herzliya Cemetery at 1:00 p.m.

Teachers call strike for 2 hours on Monday

By LEA LEVAVI
The Histadrut teachers' union yesterday decided to call a two-hour strike on Monday in protest against Education Ministry instructions not to substitute during the first three days of a teacher's absence. The union also declared a labour strike yesterday over this issue. It will take further action at the end of the mandatory 15-day cooling-off period if the ministry does not change its instructions by then.

Union secretary-general Amnon Abramson said the instructions endanger children because classes where teachers are absent will lack proper supervision.

The Secondary School Teachers Association is not taking any action at the moment, but has ordered its members not to serve as substitutes unless payment is guaranteed. High schools are usually run by municipalities or other organizations, some of them, such as the Tel Aviv municipality, have said they will continue to pay substitutes from the first day of the teacher's absence.

However, since the ministry will not reimburse them, it is not known if, or for how long, this policy can continue. The high-school teachers will wait and see how the ministry's instructions work in practice.



...a vervet monkey born a month ago in the Jerusalem Biblical Zoo, peers over the head of one of its keepers. Randy is being raised by the zoo's keepers, who feed him formula from a bottle.

Siamese twins born in Afula

By DAVID RUDGE
MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter
A woman gave birth to a pair of Siamese twins in Afula yesterday, the sickly spokeswoman reported.

The twins are joined between the part of the chest and the abdomen, over 20 centimetres, and weighed altogether 23.8 kilograms.

They are in the premature baby intensive care unit and their condition yesterday was described as stable.

One in every 50,000 births produces Siamese twins.

The spokeswoman said the mother, a member of a kibbutz in the Beit Shean Valley, was well.

Teachers colleges get reprieve until next year

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter
No teachers colleges will be closed during this school year, representatives of the Histadrut Teachers' Union and the Education Ministry decided at a meeting yesterday.

The Breine College will be merged with the Ephraim College in Jerusalem and the Religious Music Teachers College in Petah Tikva will be merged with the Talpiot College in Tel Aviv.

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Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir cheers up, or is cheered by, 17-year-old Yossi Sherer, of Kiryat Hayovel, one of the casualties in Tuesday's terrorist bombing of a bus in Jerusalem in which two children and two men were killed. The visit took place yesterday at Shaare Zedek hospital, where 19 of the wounded are still being treated. A further nine are at Hadassah, Ein Kerem. No change was reported yesterday in the condition of any of the victims. Yesterday, the police released the last four detained suspects. (Rahamim Israeli)

Na'amat opposes MK's bill to lower marriage age to 16

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — MK Meir Cohen-Avidov's proposal to lower the minimum marriageable age for girls to 16 is not appropriate to a modern and enlightened country, Na'amat secretary-general Masha Lubelsky yesterday wrote to Justice Minister Moshe Nissim.

In 1950, the late MK Ada Maimon brought about the passage of the current law setting the minimum marriageable age for girls at 17. This was a compromise between Maimon's belief that the age should be 18, and the Orthodox camp's demand that it be 16.

Lubelsky said lowering the age to 16 would be a shameful step backwards.

Cohen-Avidov contends that 16-year-old girls today are more ready for marriage than were girls of that age in previous generations, because of their greater knowledge about sex and increased sexual freedom. However, Lubelsky said

TV reporter testifies in Arlosoroff probe

TEL AVIV. — Israel Television reporter Haim Gil was recalled yesterday to testify before the commission investigating the murder of a half-century ago of Haim Arlosoroff.

Arlosoroff, a Labour movement leader, Gil was asked to clarify for the commission certain points in the testimony of Israel Yardeni, 80, of Ra'anana, who had told the commission he had been picked by Revisionist leaders to kill Arlosoroff. (The Revisionist movement was one of the predecessors of today's Herut Party.)

Several years ago, Gil did a TV story on Yardeni. When interviewed for that programme, Yardeni told Gil he had refused to kill

Writer held, denies pimping allegations

TEL AVIV (Itim). — The crime reporter for the weekly newspaper *Ha'olam Haze* was remanded for 14 days by the magistrates court here yesterday on suspicion of living off the earnings of a prostitute, encouragement of prostitution and blackmail.

The reporter, Naomi Edva, 44, was accused by another woman of helping her get started as a prostitute, renting an apartment for the purpose, and sent customers to her in exchange for a commission. The woman claims to have backed out of the arrangement when Edva's promises to help her become a model turned out to be empty.

World tourism meeting to be held in Jerusalem

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Skal, the international organization of tourism executives, will hold its November 1985 world convention in Jerusalem, the Israel branch of the organization announced yesterday.

This is the first time the world body will meet in the capital, although it convened in Tel Aviv in 1972. Tourism circles view the meeting in Jerusalem as highly important inasmuch as it will bring some 2,000 people, from the top ranks of the world's travel trade to the capital.

Jerusalem was one of eight cities competing for the meeting, said the organization's spokesman. He noted that other countries have benefitted from an increase in visitors following such meetings.

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SMADAR

Reprimand for Israel Bonds agent in U.S.

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The Israel Bonds Organization office in Jerusalem yesterday afternoon had still not been informed of the legal troubles that had struck the organization's underwriter in the U.S., the Development Corporation for Israel.

"This is the first I am hearing about it," Leo Krown, director of the organization's Israel office, told *The Jerusalem Post* in reply to a question.

On Tuesday, the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission reprimanded the underwriter for failing to record properly some

large cash transactions. The commission said Development Corporation for Israel had violated a rule of the Internal Revenue Service requiring financial institutions to report all cash transactions involving more than \$10,000.

According to the SEC, when a client made a cash payment for Israel Bonds that exceeded \$10,000, the money was recorded improperly as having been received over a period of days. For example, a \$16,000 payment would be recorded as having been made in the form of \$10,000 on one day and \$6,000 on another day, apparently to avoid reporting the transaction to the

Internal Revenue Service.

The SEC also discovered that Development Corporation for Israel's sales personnel was not recording all the information about customers as required by SEC rules.

Admitting that "some of our staff members on occasion failed to comply with certain technical reporting requirements," the Development Corporation for Israel consented to the SEC's formal reprimand. It said an administrative settlement was reached to avoid the "effort and expense of litigation."

The reprimand covered a period of at least 16 months beginning January 1982.

Private builders present an ultimatum

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
Slighted by Housing Minister David Levy's suggestion that some private builders may have wanted to get rich too quickly, and that there is no recession at all in the housing business, private building contractors are threatening to stop work on January 16 unless the government agrees to three demands of the Federation of Contractors and Builders.

The demands, contained in resolutions approved at the closing session of this week's convention of the Federation of Contractors and Builders, concern mainly non-residential contract work the builders do for government and semi-public agencies.

The contractors want all pay-

ments due to them to be linked to the Consumer Price Index. They also want the period of payment to be shortened, and they demand a 21 per cent increase to all prices they had quoted in existing, signed contracts.

David Gatt, a federation official, said the contractors need a 15 per cent compensation for the higher costs of capital, and another 6 per cent "to compensate us for irregularities in the calculation of the Construction Inputs Index." This index, compiled by the Central Bureau of Statistics, tracks the changes in the price levels of labour, building materials, land and other components in the building trades.

According to Gatt, "a large number of contractors" would face

bankruptcy within six months unless the three demands are met. If the companies close down, he added, between 15,000 and 25,000 construction workers would have to be sacked.

David Stern, who was re-elected president of the federation, said: "In the 1966 recession, more than 16,000 building workers were lost to the trade, and never returned. We must not allow this to happen again. If there is a drop in demand for new flats, let the government order construction of old-age homes, to unburden our hospitals of their geriatric patients, and new roads, to accommodate the burgeoning number of automobiles on our roads."

"If the building industry comes to a standstill again, it will be a national catastrophe!"

UN panel condemns Israel over unreleased terrorist

UNITED NATIONS (AP). — A UN committee voted Wednesday to condemn Israel for allegedly violating a prisoner-exchange agreement and holding back Ziyad Abu Ain serving a life term for killing two persons in a terrorist attack four years ago.

The General Assembly's Special Political Committee demanded that Israel immediately release Abu Ain, and ensure his transfer to Algeria "in conformity with the agreement reached through the good offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross." The vote on the resolution was 75-3, with 30 abstentions. Israel, the U.S. and Canada voted "no."

Abu Ain had been held since 1982 for a terrorist bombing that killed two and wounded 36 in Tiberias in

1979. After the attack he fled to the U.S., and Israel was only able to bring him back for trial after lengthy proceedings in U.S. courts.

Sources involved in the negotiations and in the exchange said Abu Ain's name had been included in the original PLO list. However, in transcribing his name for the final checks his name had been misspelled. The resulting confusion was exploited by the Israeli security authorities, who removed him from a bus at Ben-Gurion Airport and returned him to prison.

In another action Wednesday, the Special Political Committee voted 112-2 to demand that Israel not proceed with a project for piping Mediterranean Sea water downhill to the Dead Sea to produce hydroelectric power.

Haifa's air is still the dirtiest

By DAVID RUDGE
HAIFA. — This city is still the country's most polluted, despite a marked reduction in air pollution this year.

Zvi Forer, director of the Union of Local Authorities' Environmental Protection Unit, told a symposium at the Technion yesterday that emissions from the Electric Corporation's Haifa Bay power station had been reduced following the lowering of its generating capacity.

Forer maintained, however, that the station and the nearby Oil Refineries were together responsible for 89 per cent of the city's air pollution with their sulphur dioxide gas emissions. Other chemical factories in the Haifa Bay area were responsible for the remaining 11 per cent.

He said the two plants should burn a lower-sulphur content fuel and raise their smokestacks, although the latter was impracticable due to the close proximity of the Haifa airfield.

Dr. Ami Rubin, director of the drug institute at Rambam Hospital said research carried out in other countries into air pollution as a possible cause of lung disease is inconclusive.

TA councilman: 'Tell tourists what's kosher'

TEL AVIV. — The head of the city's Religious Front, Councilman Haim Basok, is demanding that the tourism magazine *Apropos Israel* indicate in its restaurant list for Tel Aviv which restaurants are kosher.

Basok wrote to Yoram Barnea, the editor of the bi-monthly, saying that the failure to mention which restaurants and cafes are kosher misleads Jewish tourists, who assume that all are kosher.



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U.S. says after walkout:

'Soviets will resume talks on nuclear arms'

WASHINGTON (AP). — The Soviet Union, having a "clear interest" in arms control, will end yesterday's suspension of negotiations on intercontinental nuclear weapons next year and return to the bargaining table, an official of the administration of President Ronald Reagan said yesterday.

But he was less optimistic about a resumption of the talks on intermediate range weapons in Europe.

The most recent suspension is an attempt by the Soviets to put pressure on public opinion in West Europe and the U.S., said the official who declined to be identified. "This clearly is what is behind Soviet behaviour today," he said.

The calm U.S. response to the breakoff in Geneva was comparable to the relaxed U.S. stance after the Soviets ended separate talks on restricting medium-range nuclear weapons two weeks ago.

Yesterday's walkout involved negotiations to restrict longer-range weapons, such as ocean-spanning missiles, strategic bombers and nuclear submarines.

The double breakdown in Geneva slows arms control discussions between the two superpowers

to a virtual standstill. They are continuing to hold talks in the Swiss city in compliance with the 1972 and 1979 strategic arms limitation treaties.

The Soviet Union yesterday suspended the strategic nuclear arms negotiations, two weeks after walking out of separate talks on medium-range missiles in Europe.

A Soviet statement said deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe had changed "the global strategic situation," making it necessary for Moscow to review all problems discussed in the talks on long-range, strategic weapons.

"Therefore no date for a resumption of the negotiations has been set," it said.

Chief U.S. negotiator Edward Rowny told reporters he had proposed continuing the talks in February after a normal two-month break. He regretted that the Soviets had chosen not to set a date.

"We cannot agree with Soviet assertions that developments outside the scope of these negotiations require the Soviet Union to withhold agreement on a resumption date for the sixth round of START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks)," he said.

Reagan to 'consider' Lech Walesa's appeal

WASHINGTON (AP). — President Ronald Reagan said late on Wednesday that he will give "immediate and serious consideration" to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa's call for an end to economic sanctions imposed against Poland almost two years ago.

Reagan said he would consult closely with U.S. allies on Walesa's request, adding: "We have great respect and admiration for Lech Walesa, the courageous leader of Poland's free trade union movement."

Walesa said on Monday that the sanctions should be ended because Poland needs "not losses of millions but aid of billions of dollars."

The economic sanctions, ranging from a ban on high technology sales to a freeze on new western credit to Poland, were ordered after the start of a military crackdown by the Polish government.

Poland's hardline army newspaper yesterday accused Walesa of acting as a U.S. agent by urging the West to lift the sanctions.

"Let's read the American voice, pronounced with Polish mouths, the way it deserves," the newspaper said in what is believed to be only the second media attack on Walesa since he won the Nobel Peace Prize.

Walesa, a 40-year-old shipyard electrician, was due in Warsaw last night to escort his wife Danuta, 34, to the airport. She leaves this morning for Oslo, Norway, to pick up the Nobel Prize on his behalf at a ceremony tomorrow.



Lech and Danuta Walesa. (UPI)

Saudi king wins prize for service to Islam

RIYADH (Reuters). — King Fahd of Saudi Arabia has won the 1983 King Faisal International Prize for Services to Islam, the prize foundation announced yesterday.

Fahd will receive 300,000 Saudi riyals (\$86,000) and a gold medal. The Islamic Studies Prize went to Ahmed al-Zurgha of Syria, and the Arabic Literature Prize to an Egyptian, Mahmoud Mohammed Shaker. Each will get 250,000 riyals (\$72,000).

The prize for medicine was won jointly by three Americans, John Fordtran, William Greenough and Michael Field, for their work in diarrheal diseases.

The prize for science was jointly won by Gerd Benning and Heinrich Rohrer of West Germany. The prizes for medicine and science are each worth 350,000 riyals (\$72,000).

U.S. wants others states to aid Grenada

WASHINGTON (AP). — The U.S. wants other countries to help in the recovery of Grenada's economy, the Reagan administration says.

Jay Morris, deputy administrator of the Agency for International Development and leader of an inter-agency team that visited the Caribbean island, said Tuesday it will take years to rebuild Grenada's economy.

"We don't intend to become the dominant, sole supplier of external assistance," he said.

Morris said Canada and Britain are considering aid packages. While he would not reveal the amount, he said they total less than the U.S. package.

The Agency for International Development is preparing a \$15 million aid package for Grenada, including funds for road rebuilding and social services, promotion of tourism, light industry and agriculture.



Shi'ite militiamen stand guard at a bunker near U.S. Marines lines in southern Beirut. (UPI)

Bonn minister indicted for bribe-taking

BONN (AP). — The Bonn prosecutor filed bribery charges yesterday against Economics Minister Otto Lambsdorff, accusing him of accepting DM135,000 (about \$54.5 million) from the Flick holding company in exchange for tax breaks.

In a heated exchange in parliament on Wednesday, Chancellor Helmut Kohl rejected opposition party demands that Lambsdorff resign. Kohl also blasted the Bonn prosecutor for publicizing the case before the charges were filed, calling the tactic a "monstrosity."

Lambsdorff is alleged to have accepted payments and channelled the money to the Free Democrats in exchange for giving favourable tax rulings on Flick's profits from the 1975 sale of Daimler-Benz automotive stock.

Lambsdorff, whose party is the junior coalition partner of Kohl's Conservatives, reacted to news of his indictment without surprise. During a budget speech yesterday in parliament, the minister said he tends to be "an optimist in all situations in life." (AP, Reuters)

Canadians trying out contraceptive underwear

MONTREAL (Reuters). — Six men are trying out a new way to keep warm and stay sterile with special underwear designed to act as a contraceptive.

Dr. Pierre Dongier told the press this week that "the method that we are using is a kind of tight underwear that keeps the testicles close to the body."

The idea, he said, is to cut down the production of sperm by increasing the temperature of the testicles.

"There is a bit of chafing at first and it was a little uncomfortable, but you get used to it," he said.

But the six Montreal researchers are taking no chances with the French-designed underwear which they have remodelled for themselves. They are using other contraceptive methods during the experiment.

Dongier said it may take up to two years of monthly sperm count tests to measure the effectiveness of the "hot pants" before a marketing decision is taken.

Iraq claims sinking 6 Iranian 'targets'

NICOSIA (AP). — Six Iranian "naval targets" were sunk and an Iranian air force jet shot down yesterday in an air and naval battle in the northern reaches of the Persian Gulf, the official Iraqi new agency INA reported.

INA said that one Iraqi air force jet failed to return from the engagement, but said this was due to "a technical fault." The agency indicated the jet crashed on Iranian territory, adding that the Iranian side was being held responsible for the safety of its pilot.

INA gave no indication about the type or size of the "naval targets" it reported sunk.

There was no immediate comment from the Iranian side.

Threats force Princess Anne's butler to quit

LONDON (AP). — Princess Anne's number one for Gatcombe Park, the home in rural Gloucestershire of Queen Elizabeth II's 33-year-old daughter and her husband Mark Phillips.

It said Lightwood, 23, who lived in a flat above the Gatcombe stables, was given police protection. But after three weeks of threatening calls, he quit the job and went to stay with relatives in South Wales.

Islamic parley urges Soviet exit from Afghanistan

DACCA, Bangladesh (AP). — A committee at the Islamic foreign ministers meeting here yesterday called for the immediate and total withdrawal of Soviet troops from the fellow Moslem country of Afghanistan.

The resolution was passed on the third day of the 14th Islamic conference of foreign ministers, a run-up to a Moslem summit meeting in Morocco next month. It is expected to be approved by the full session.

Pro-Soviet Libya, Syria and South Yemen opposed the resolution, which was sponsored by Pakistan. It borders Afghanistan and has absorbed more than 3 million refugees since the installation of a Communist government in Kabul and the Soviet military intervention beginning in 1979.

The committee also called for a halt to Israeli settlement on the West Bank and condemned Israel's plan to build a canal from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea.

Row blows up over Madrid collision

MADRID (Reuters). — A row has erupted over safety provisions at Madrid airport following the runway collision between two planes in which 92 people were killed.

Spanish airline pilots interviewed on television said the runway signaling at Barajas Airport was inadequate.

Transport Minister Enrique Baron insisted the airport was safe despite Wednesday's crash.

In an article published yesterday by the influential newspaper *El Pais*, pilot Raul Tori called for ground-based radar and runway guidance systems to be set up immediately.

"Until this is done, as irreversibly as yesterday and as inexorably as day follows night, Barajas will be the scene of another tragedy," he wrote.

Defeat of Red Brigades may be temporary

ROMA (Reuters). — The Red Brigades, Italy's notorious left-wing terrorists, appear to have been defeated, but police and examining magistrates fear they could be regrouping for a new attempt to "strike at the heart of the state."

In the 5 1/2 years since the Brigades' most daring coup — the kidnapping and murder of former premier Aldo Moro — the campaign against them has been transformed by more dynamic leadership, wider powers for the police and a law to encourage confessions with the offer of lighter sentences.

As a result, more than 2,500 of the "brigatisti" and their supporters are now in jail. Major operations by left-wing extremists virtually ended with the kidnapping of U.S. General James Dozier two years ago.

Earlier this year, Benito Curcio, the key figure of the Brigades' foundation in the early 1970s, issued a statement from jail saying, "The armed struggle has short-circuited." He called for an end to violent action.

But Antonio Savasta, a "repentant" Brigades member who turned state's evidence against his former comrades, recently declared, "The armed struggle is not yet finished. Inside the Red Brigades, a debate is in progress to find new forms of struggle."

Belief that his words were mere bluster was denied last month when police raided a farmhouse near Florence and seized an arms cache along with four people, they said were forming a new Brigades-linked group.

There are also fears of a new and powerful alliance with organized crime.

In 1981, a local Christian Democratic politician was kidnapped by the Brigades and police and judicial officials suspected that the Camorra, the Naples Mafia, acted

UK, U.S. vote against colonialism resolution

UNITED NATIONS (AP). — Only Britain and the U.S. voted "no" on Wednesday as the UN General Assembly adopted a sweeping resolution against colonialism by a tally of 141-2, with 8 abstentions.

In the preceding debate, British Ambassador John Margetson had objected to a provision calling Britain the "illegal occupying regime" in its dependent territories, remarking, "I have never heard such nonsense."

U.S. Ambassador William Sherman had taken exception to a clause recognizing "the legitimacy of the struggle" of colonial peoples to get independence "by all the necessary means at their disposal." He said that came "perilously close to providing an endorsement for murder and terror."

The assembly had adopted an almost identical resolution little more than a year ago. The vote on that occasion was also 141-2, with 8 abstentions. The only difference between the two votes was that Israel, which had abstained last year, was absent Wednesday and Paraguay, which had been absent last year, abstained Wednesday.

Computer blamed for Korean jet's error

TORONTO (Reuters). — International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) investigators have concluded that the Korean airliner shot down on September 1 was off course in Soviet airspace probably due to a navigational error, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) said.

The investigators' detailed report on the incident, expected to be discussed by the ICAO council next week in Montreal, says the Boeing 747's navigational computer was probably programmed with the wrong starting point, the CBC said in a report Wednesday night.

Atomic device tested by France in Pacific

WELLINGTON (AP). — France has exploded a nuclear device as its Mururoa atoll testing base in the Pacific, the sixth one so far this year, officials in New Zealand said yesterday.

A spokesman for New Zealand's Seismological Institute said a device with an explosive force of about six kilotons had been detonated on Saturday.

Olivier listed 'stable' after kidney operation

LONDON (AP). — Actor Laurence Olivier, 76, underwent a two-hour kidney operation Wednesday, his agent said, and was in a "stable" condition at London's St. Thomas' Hospital.

The actor was admitted to hospital a week ago and surgeons decided over the weekend they would have to operate. The surgery was to "rectify a kidney condition," but no details were given.

Sports

BASKETBALL

Jolly too much for Maccabi Tel Aviv

Post Sports Staff

The Italian European Basketball Cup champions from Cantu, now entitled "Jolly Colombani" instead of "Ford," proved to be too strong in their home town for a dogged Maccabi Tel Aviv squad last night, and won the opening match of the final pool of the Cup, 74-65. But it should not be beyond Maccabi's prowess to wipe out the nine-point deficit when the second leg is played in Tel Aviv.

An Israeli team has seldom won a European Cup match on Italian soil, and Maccabi's 16th effort to do so only looked like a possibility during the first quarter, during which they were on level terms with their hosts. Then Cantu switched to a zonal defence that neutralized completely Maccabi's customary fast breaks, despite Mickey Berkowitz being in sparkling form.

It might have been different if Motti Aroesti had not been sitting glumly on the sidelines, shivering from influenza and a 39 degree

temperature. The young substitute for him as playmaker, Y. Kadman, played a valiant game, was no match for the dynamic, powerful Italians, led by their veteran superstar, Antonello Riva who was almost unstoppable, their new American signing, Kraft.

The mercurial Mickey Berkowitz had a great night, but lacked a port. Coach Zvi Sherf kept opening quintet of Berkowitz, Kadman, Perry, Silver and Brikovsky intact until well into second half.

At the late stage, reserves Kramer and Howie Lassoff in little impact on the game. Maccabi suffered throughout from deficiencies in rebounding.

The Italians had widened the lead to 14 points when Brikovsky made late baskets that may prove to be of vast importance when the aggregate scores over two legs are calculated. The top scorers for Maccabi were Berkowitz (24), Brikovsky (15) and Perry (15), and for Cantu Riva (22), Innocenti (16) and Kraft (14).

SOCCER PREVIEW

Haifa's hope

By PAUL KOHN

TEL AVIV. — The new league leaders Hapoel Tel Aviv travel to Haifa tomorrow, while their closest challengers Bnei Yehuda appear at the Winter Stadium in Ramat Gan against the third-place local Hapoel.

At least 10,000 fanatical Haifa fans are expected to turn out at the Kiryat Eliezer stadium to cheer on Zhai Arneli making his debut as a regular Maccabi Haifa player. On the other hand, Dov Remler, Shabtai Levi, Moshe Sinai and Rifat Turk all have a knack of producing goals just when it matters, and this game is likely to provide the home defence with a tough test.

Haifa reserve keeper Avi Ran was outstanding in last week's 0-0 draw against Bnei Yehuda, but the Haifa attack of Selektor, Rosenthal and Malka failed to show much cohesion. On form, one cannot see the Tel Avivians going home pointless — except that Arneli is a striker who may make all the difference.

The two surprise teams of the season, Hapoel Lod and Bnei Yehuda, should provide a great game. While Lod have shown real grit and have relied on opportunistic goals by Buzaglo and Zeitoun, Bnei Yehuda have played some class football: an interesting clash of styles, any result is possible.

The result may be affected if Uri Malmilian, who is injured, is unable to play.

Maccabi Netanya has a golden opportunity to move from the bottom spot in the National League. They will be home to Maccabi Jaffa, and this may be their first game in which they do not concede at least two goals. Gabi Lassy has strengthened the defence, and anything but a Netanya win will come as a shock.

Bnei Yehuda, newly promoted this season, have been moving steadily up the first division table and look good for three further points at the expense of Ramat Avich.

Squash tourney

The Hertzliya Squash Centre's inaugural club championships and this week-end's matches begin at 3 p.m. today and continue at 6 p.m. tomorrow.

NBA: Wednesday

Washington 114 (Jeff Ruland 35), Dallas 112; Philadelphia 133 (Maddox 30 and 19 rebounds, Erving 25), Denver 98 (Vandergriff 33, English 31); Boston 100, Indiana 95; Cleveland 106, Atlanta 92; Milwaukee 103, Houston 101; San Diego 106, San Antonio 102.

UEFA CUP

Spurs oust Bayer

LONDON (AP). — A goal by N. Falco three minutes from the end of a thrilling game gave Tottenham Hotspur a remarkable victory, Bayern Munich here on Wednesday night. The London team won 2-1 after losing the first leg in Gern 0-1.

The Germans kept the British until midway through the second half. Then Glenn Hoddle set up goals — one for Steve Archibald and the late winner for Falco.

Nottingham Forest vanquished Glasgow Celtic 2-1 in Glasgow, to perfect passes laid on by 22-year-old Peter Davenport for 3 Hodge and Colin Walsh. Mi MacLeod pulled one back Celtic, but it could not pre Forest winning 2-1 on aggregate was Celtic's first home loss, season, and they have only 1 beaten at home twice before European Cup contests.

Inter-Milan were eliminated from the UEFA Cup by Austria Vienna, 2-1, before 47,000 spectators, who saw their team in 1-1 draw, this losing 3-2 on aggregate.

Results of second leg matches in the round of the UEFA Cup: Spartak Moscow, 2-1, Spartak Rostov (Spartak Moscow wins 3-2 on aggregate); Juventus 2, Radnicki Niš 0 (Juventus wins 3-0 on aggregate); Anderlecht 1, 1 (Anderlecht wins 2-1 on aggregate); Prague 4, Werder Bremen 0 (Prague wins 4-0 on aggregate); Lokomotiv Leipzig 1, Bielefeld 0 (Lokomotiv wins 2-1 on aggregate); Celtic 1, Nottingham Forest 2 (Nottingham wins 2-1 on aggregate); Tottenham Hotspur 2, Bayern Munich 0 (Tottenham wins 2-1 on aggregate); Inter-Milan 1, Austria Vienna 1 (Inter-Milan wins 3-2 on aggregate).

MELBOURNE (Reuters). — Top-seeded Netany continued her relentless march towards the third leg of the tennis Grand when she swept aside her doubles partner Shriver, 6-4, 6-3 yesterday to reach her Australian Open singles first.

Navratilova, beaten only once this year, lost to compatriot Kathy Harvath, fourth round of the French open, faces a Russian, sixth-seeded Kathy Jordan, in the first round of the Wimbledon 20-year-old in Zions Garden 7-6, 6-1 to reach her 11th successive final.

All in the family

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. — The Israel Tennis Association's second annual "All-in-the-Family" championships at the Kiryat Ha'Ami winds up this weekend, with play starting p.m. today and 6 p.m. tomorrow. A total of 100 players are competing in the tournament's categories of competition, half of them particularly popular fathers-and-sons even.

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APOLOGY

On Friday, 3rd June 1983, our newspaper published an article under the heading "Inspector General and the Individual" on a page bearing the title "Personal Account" in which the following text appears:

"We have not yet forgotten the grand bar mitzvah party which he gave for his son at the King David Hotel, in the midst of the Peace for Galilee War, whilst reports were flowing in on the blood which was being spilt."

We hereby apologize for the said publicity. We did not check the facts prior to the publication of the item and the truth is that Rav Nitzav Ivzan never held any event (including a bar mitzvah) at the King David Hotel. Rav Nitzav Ivzan's youngest son was on active duty in the I.D.F. during the Peace for Galilee War.

We regret the offence to Rav Nitzav Ivzan and to his good name and status as Inspector General to the Israel Police, in the public and among police personnel. We apologize for the suffering caused to Rav Nitzav Ivzan personally and to his family.

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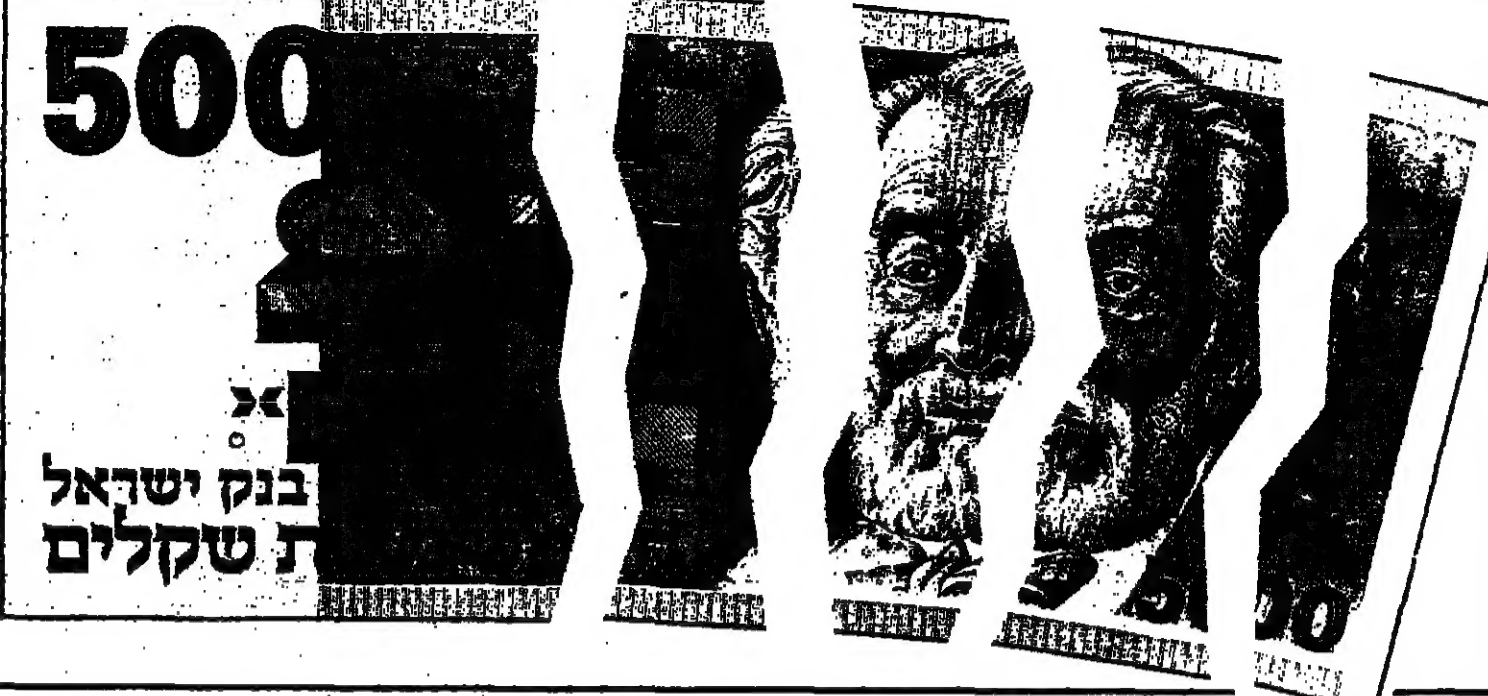
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FOCUS

The business of belt-tightening

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL / Jerusalem Post Reporter



500

בנק ישראל
תשקלים

"I have a freezer," said Margalit Lotan, mother of two pre-school children, whose husband is a mechanic. "I buy almost everything between the third and fifth of the month. That way I get more of what we need for my money. I also try to pay in cash or in one check, to save extra bank transactions. I pay all my bills with one cheque at the *klah bank*, the express system."

But it was clear this week that this sort of maneuvering is nothing more than a temporary reprieve, and that like an aspirin, the effect soon wears off and the toothache is still there. The shopkeepers and the shoppers of Israel know that the real change is in the amount and the variety of purchases being made. Israelis are becoming much more careful about where and how they spend.

One of the most significant signs of this is that most of the local grocers no longer give credit.

Shimon Ben-Hamu, in Jerusalem's German Colony, shrugged as he explained: "We can't afford monthly accounts any longer. It's hard to say this to a customer of 10 years overall, but it's a fact. My profit is never more than 20 per cent overall, and if 17 per cent of that is eaten up by the month's delay in payment, then how can I operate?"

How indeed? For Ben-Hamu also knows that the one binding tie between the customer and the local shop is the credit. If one has to pay cash, then why not shop in the market? A number of grocers expressed the feeling that a lot of corner groceries would be closing down in the coming months.

IN A PERFUMERY on Ben-Yehuda Street, in Jerusalem, the manager spoke of the sale of cosmetics.

"Yes," she said; "women are still

buying cosmetics, but they aren't buying as much or as freely. Few women come in now and ask for an item by a brand name; they're more likely to compare the various brands, checking the amount of the contents and the price before buying. They also tend to buy what's on sale on the counter rather than from the shelf." In Tel Aviv's Dizengoff, Lise Eldin, who owns (Lise) the Lisa Perfumery, said that the same was true in Tel Aviv.

"People are cutting down on expenditure. A woman who usually buys nail lacquer in all colours now buys just two and mixes them to get a third shade. Also, some of the less expensive brands of moisture cream and make-up are becoming more popular."

In the boutiques, sales staff report that there's a going business in accessories: belts, scarves, costume jewelry, coloured stockings, but

not many sales of dresses. Rina Rosner in Jerusalem said "Women are buying things that make an old dress look new. The boutiques are hard hit, too, because of the late winter. No one thinks of real winter clothing while it's shirt-sleeve weather. By the time the winter comes, either they'll decide to make do with what they have, or the sales will already be on."

The decreasing purchase of clothing also extends to the specialty shops dealing in bridal attire, where owners say that rentals of wedding-gowns are up, but actual sales are down.

"A woman likes to think she'll keep her wedding-dress for her children," said one shop-owner, "but in the end, a lot are settling for a rented dress, as the families try to pare down the expenses for the festivities."

In the Tel Aviv and Jerusalem halls, where weddings, bar mitzvas and other festivities are catered, there's an increasing demand for buffets with wine and cheese, or light snacks and punch, but fewer sit-down dinners are being ordered.

Book-stores, too, are feeling the slump, particularly the large firms dealing in new books. But the shops selling used paperbacks seem to be doing fairly well.

"There's a drop, no doubt about it," said an employee of The Bookstop in Jerusalem, which specializes in secondhand paperbacks. "But all in all, people are reading a lot." One customer remarked that the paperbacks were her "week's supply of tranquilizers."

THIS FEELING seems to extend to the entertainment field, theatres and cinemas reporting little if any decline in audiences. In a sort of "bread and circuses" mentality, most people seem to feel that their entertainment shekels are some of the most well-spent, and children's tickets to the "Children's Song Festival" were being snapped up this week at IS900 each.

Nor do the sellers of lottery tickets, soccer-pool cards and the like seem to be complaining. "It's like this," said Eli Mahouti, who apparently hasn't lost any of his regular customers for lottery tickets at his stand in Jerusalem's Katamon neighbourhood. "When you don't know how you're going to manage in any case, then what's a few shekels to buy a chance of a million or more? People always think that maybe a miracle will happen." But there were no miracles in sight for Amnon Schori, who stood next to me at the office of the Government Employment Service. Aged 26, he is a semi-skilled construction worker who was laid off last week.

"I don't know what we'll do," said Schori, whose wife Ilana works as a checker in a supermarket, earning IS13,000 a month. "Ilana's salary barely covers the nursery-school fees for our two children and part of the groceries. Schori is looking for a job, and will be collecting unemployment insurance for the next four to five months, if he can't find work. But the insurance is far less than what he earned, and as it was, they were scarcely getting by on that."

ANOTHER indication of the pinch was the appearance of the avocado farmers at the high-rise apartment buildings in Tel Aviv, where they were selling their own avocados at IS25 per kilo. The market price is IS50-60, but the grower only gets

IS6-8 per kilo. In an attempt to keep afloat, many moshav farmers decided to sell the fruit themselves — a gamble, because some were bound to be caught and fined for illegal marketing.

The same was true of sellers of other luxury items such as iceberg lettuce and mushrooms. One woman in Tel Aviv said she had bought almost all her fruit and vegetables last week from farmers who were selling door to door.

A veteran avocado grower from the coastal plain who refused to allow his name to be used said that unless a farmer sells at least 10 to 15 per cent of his produce without going through the middlemen, he cannot stay in business.

"I'm not speaking of a profit on the farm, or even a minimum wage for the farmer," he stressed. "Just paying the overheads and keeping the place going."

At two Jerusalem petrol stations, one on King David Street the other at Kiryat Hayovel, there was business as usual this week, with about the same amount of turnover as last month. But at the entrance to the city and at the station in Sha'ar Hagai there was a slump, indicating that possibly more people are opting for inter-urban travel by public transport.

ANOTHER group hard hit by the credit squeeze and the rate of inflation are free-lance translators and writers. Many of them have stopped taking assignments from the universities or the government, since they usually have to wait for payment in shekels without linkage, for about 90 days. Even when pay is linked to the dollar, postal delays cause a great loss.

One free-lance writer mentioned that she was owed \$200 by a magazine that is exemplary in its prompt payment. Payment, however, is in shekels. She put in her bill on November 12, and a cheque for the shekel equivalent at 87 shekels to the dollar was mailed to her on the 19th. When the cheque arrived on November 30, the rate was already IS95 to the dollar. She had lost IS1,600 in buying power.

Looking at the situation and realizing that it's only the beginning, Sheila Oholiva, 38, a working mother of three, said that she had no real plan for the future.

"In fact, those who tell me that they have seen unreal to me. In the end, I think it's wishful thinking. What we're really doing is just muddling through — us, the government, everyone. Just muddling through and hoping that somewhere we'll succeed."

HAEL GALE is leaving his post as White House liaison to the Jewish community to become a special assistant to Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Gale, 32, a former lobbyist at the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) who left to join the Reagan campaign in 1980, has been anxious to take on a new challenge in the administration, having spent his recent years working exclusively on Jewish and Israeli issues.

While in the White House, Gale has no pretensions that he was very central in shaping U.S. policy towards Israel and the Middle East. He did some of his predecessors in the Republican and Democratic administrations.

He was fully aware of the limitations and very real frustrations of assignment when he accepted it in July 1982. His primary responsibility was to articulate the president's policies to the American Jewish community and to generate understanding and support for them. He told me in an interview. Another component was for me to carry feedback from the American Jewish community to the president and his advisers on their policies. Finally, when the president's advisers wanted to meet with the Jewish community, he Jewish community wanted to meet directly with them, it was my job to assist in arranging those meetings.

GALE DID NOT boast that he had

altered the course of U.S.-Israeli relations. "My job was not to affect policy," he said. "It was to explain the policy and to bring feedback."

Still, he did have an impact at times. Thus, some of the Jewish reactions which he did bring to the White House were carefully studied by high officials there. But, as Gale himself pointed out, "it's a very nebulous type of thing. It's very intangible, you can't put your finger on it and say, 'This is a result of my work.'"

There is no doubt that Gale is leaving the White House on a high note in American-Israeli ties. The widely publicized talk of closer strategic cooperation between Washington and Jerusalem in the aftermath of President Ronald Reagan's summit with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has underscored this closer alliance.

The opposite, of course, was the case when Gale joined the White House team only a month after Israel's move into Lebanon. Gale's last official undertaking as liaison to the Jewish community was to organize Reagan's Hanukkah candle-lighting ceremony at the Jewish Community Centre of Greater Washington on December 4.

The president delivered a short but impressive address. He clearly seemed moved. It was the type of family oriented event which he has come to appreciate. The Jewish community could not help but notice that he had taken time out from his meetings on the downing of two U.S. jets in Lebanon that very day.

Reagan's record on Israel

By WOLF BLITZER / Post Washington Correspondent

Naturally, it was an opportunity for Reagan to score some points with the Jewish community. Politicians are usually anxious to do exactly that, especially as new elections draw nearer.

Indeed, sceptics will argue that the improved U.S.-Israeli relationship would have occurred no matter what policies Israel might have adopted in recent weeks or what developments might have unfolded in the Middle East. Presidential election years in the U.S. always tend to be good for American-Israeli ties.

WHILE THERE certainly is a lot of truth in that, there is also no doubt that other factors were even more critical in turning around the U.S.-Israeli relationship this time.

Israel, today, is needed by a Washington anxious to get the marines out of Lebanon. Closer ties with Israel are viewed as absolutely essential in this regard. Thus, the relationship would have improved even if new elections were not just over the horizon.

"The president views Israel in a very positive light," Gale said. "He really believes that Israel is a strong and vital ally. Strategically, (Israel) can be of great assistance to the United States."

Gale did not, however, try to conceal the fact that there are still differences between the U.S. and Israel. Referring to the Reagan peace plan, he said: "The president has proposed a peace initiative. It is still on the table. It is still alive. No party to the conflict has been willing to come to the negotiating table under its auspices, but we're still optimistic and hopeful that we can find a formula to get Jordan and Israel to the negotiating table. We're going to continue to look to find ways to do that."

Still, Gale agreed that resolving the problems in Lebanon had taken a more immediate priority. "The president has said that our efforts in Lebanon are going to be a key factor in the ultimate success of the broader peace process and that if we're successful in Lebanon, there will be greater opportunities for success in the broader peace process."

"If we're unsuccessful in Lebanon, our chances of success in the broader peace process are going to be diminished. So I think we're going to look at Lebanon and we're going to look at the broader peace process."

GALE AND OTHER Republican leaders, at the same time, are also looking at the elections in November 1984.

Assuming Reagan wants a second term, he will make a major effort to secure Jewish votes, which could be decisive in a close vote.

"In the 1980 elections," Gale said, "we won 42 per cent of the Jewish vote. It was a high watermark for a Republican candidate." Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, most Jews have voted Democrat. Gale believes Reagan

can do at least as well in the Jewish community next year — maybe even better.

MUCH, OF COURSE, will depend on the Democratic candidate. Walter Mondale, for example, is clearly more popular among Jews than John Glenn.

"I think that Ronald Reagan has a record which he can run on very well in the Jewish community," Gale said. "I think the Jewish community has to look at the record in its entirety, not in a vacuum. There are a lot of things that the Jewish community is not aware of that this Reagan Administration has done for Israel."

Asked to elaborate, Gale referred to the increase in U.S. economic and military assistance for Israel in the past three years: "I'm not sure many American Jews understand that when Ronald Reagan came to office in 1981, total foreign aid to Israel was at the \$1.7 billion level. Today, it is at \$2.6 billion. That's a substantial increase."

Gale also referred to the whole area of unpublicized political, military and intelligence cooperation between the two countries — "exchanges of information, ideas, dialogue that the world isn't aware of and doesn't really need to be aware of."

"You don't have to do everything in public to be a good friend and to have a special relationship. As a matter of fact, some things are more successful when you can have an exchange of ideas in private."

"If they ask me my advice as to the theme of the next campaign," Gale continued, "I will say that basically the U.S.-Israeli relationship is better today than it was when Ronald Reagan took office, and that while, yes, there have been ups and downs, the fundamental bedrock relationship is better today. In short, the U.S.-Israeli relationship is thriving."

American Jews do not vote simply because of Israel. Like all Americans, they also consider other issues. But assuming U.S.-Israeli ties are still as good in 11 months as they are today, that probably will do wonders for the president's vote-getting appeal in the Jewish community.

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Thurs., Dec. 15, 1983 — Jerusalem AACI, Meidan Baaleh, 9 Alkalai St., Tel. 02-536932. Time: 8:00 p.m.
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THE REAL TEST, one can suppose, will be whether the Israel Army Censor allows this article, or the study it is based on, to be translated and distributed in the West Bank.

Judging by some of the examples and the conclusions of Dr. Meron Benvenisti's just-published survey of "Israeli Censorship of Arab Publications," conducted under the auspices of the New York-based Fund for Free Expression, the chances are not great.

After all, as Benvenisti's random sample shows, the censor prohibits the publication of death notices in which a Palestinian family "in the homeland and in the diaspora" mourns the passing of one of its members.

If that makes him produce his triangular "Prohibited" stamp, how will he react to a study that not only reproduces what he has specifically barred from publication, but also concludes: "Despite the pervasiveness of censorship, the censors — like their counterparts throughout history — are fighting a losing battle," adding that their struggle "is particularly pathetic, because of the proliferating technology of communication from Arab states that penetrates the West Bank and because of the emergence of new and powerful intellectual centres in the West Bank itself?"

CENSORSHIP of Arab publications is merely another aspect of the struggle between Israel and the Palestinians. Both sides value words and ideas as powerful weapons: both see themselves as beleaguered minorities and both consider censorship a method of denying the other side legitimacy.

"Legitimacy — or the perception of legitimacy — is what is at stake," Benvenisti notes. The primary concern of the military censor (when it comes to the West Bank or Gaza) are not to suppress national security secrets and ideological tracts but rather to "eradicate expression that could foster Palestinian nationalist feelings or which suggests that Palestinians are a nation with a national heritage. Concomitantly, expression denying Israeli legitimacy or implying behaviour to Israeli officials that suggests illegitimacy is eliminated by the censor."

Conversely, the Arab press attempts to assert precisely what the censor would prohibit. "It is a mobilized press and its editors — with no exceptions but with varied emphasis — attempt to express Palestinian nationhood and to question Israeli legitimacy."

BENVENISTI was prompted to undertake the censorship survey by *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis, who noted that the censor

THE THICK BLUE PENCIL

By DAVID RICHARDSON / Jerusalem Post Reporter



was banning well-known titles of world literature such as George Orwell's 1934. The 166-page study covers censorship of the Arabic press, as well as the censorship of books. There is also a brief but useful review of press freedom in Israel proper and a survey of the relevant legislation, by Dr. Dina Goren of the Hebrew University.

The Arabic papers have based themselves in Jerusalem partly in order to "enjoy" the same laws the Israeli press is subject to. Nonetheless, there is an immense difference in practice.

Censorship-press relations in the Israeli press are governed by a voluntary system of self-censorship which reflects a basic national consensus. The subjects on which censorship applies are defined; there is a mechanism for appeal and a Knesset committee to supervise the process. This voluntary agreement, Benvenisti stresses "based on mutual trust, does not apply to the Arabic press."

The Arabic press "perceive themselves as situated in the forefront of the national struggle against the occupation... Their 'advocacy journalism' is reflected in the choice of news items, choice of phrase, and even in the contents of their advertisements."

Benvenisti's conclusions in this respect are largely based on a symposium on the role of the Palestinian press in the West Bank published in February 1980 by the Jordanian daily *al-Dustour*.

"The Israeli authorities accept the self-image of the Arabic press at face value, but carry it *ad absurdum*," he says. Quoting an affidavit submitted to the High Court of Justice in 1982 by the government responding to a suit brought by one of the Arabic papers, he says that "for the censor, the nationalist stance of the Arabic papers means the 'Palestinian covenant,' the destruction of the State of Israel, refusal to recognize the national existence of the Jewish people and its national rights and that their style is merely a 'secret call for armed struggle.'"

THE ARABIC press is also subject to dual censorship since, apart from the regular Israeli laws, the military government may also cancel distribution permits in the West Bank and Gaza. It also requires the frequent renewal of such permits and numerous editors and journalists have been detained or placed under lengthy terms of town arrest. One editor was expelled to Jordan.

Editors in the Arabic press

routinely prepare at least 25 per cent more material than they can print because they know the censor is liable to kill some of their items. All copy, including advertisements and photographs, has to be submitted, and the papers are not allowed to leave blank space. If they are pressed for time, they usually fill the space with an announcement saying, "We apologize." Perhaps the censor himself ought to be signing that announcement.

Nonetheless, "it is ironic that, under Israeli rule, the Arab press enjoys a degree of prosperity it never previously experienced," the survey notes, probably reflecting the generally acknowledged shot in the arm the Israeli occupation gave to flagging Palestinian nationalism in the United Hashemite Kingdom prior to 1967.

There are three dailies with circulation runs of from 10,000 to 15,000 for *al-Quds*, 3,000 to 5,000 for *al-Fajr* and 2,000 to 3,000 for *al-Sha'ab*. All appear in an eight-page format. In addition, there are five weeklies (some with circulations of up to 15,000), four bi-weeklies and monthlies and numerous irregular publications.

Benvenisti's study was based on a survey of a sample of censored articles taken from the files of *al-Fajr* between May 1982 and April 1983, 40 randomly selected items from *al-Sha'ab*, six articles from the bi-monthly *al-Shir'a* and some censored items from the English weekly *al-Fajr*.

If there is a weakness in this survey, it is that the statistics provided do not have any direct bearing on the conclusions. Since the samples are unequal, a table of the distribution of censored items by subject and paper cannot lead to any firm conclusion. Nor does a table of censored items analysed according to source of the report reveal anything significant.

HOWEVER, a sample of the translations of some of the censored items is astounding. Why would an intelligent person bother to censor an item recording "the release of Adal' Khalil of Nablus after two months' detention?" Why should readers of the Arabic papers not know that French communists "favour an international conference in solidarity with the Palestinian people" or that 100,000 Israelis demonstrated against the war in Lebanon (an article drawn from the Hebrew daily *Al-Hanishmar*)?

Does an item from an Israeli Radio news bulletin reporting that a member of an Egyptian medical delegation complained that \$15,000 was stolen from his room constitute

a threat to Israeli security and legitimacy? Do items based on reports from the Arabic service of Radio Monte Carlo, freely heard all over the West Bank, become intolerably inciting when seen in written form by the few thousand readers of *al-Fajr* or *al-Sha'ab*?

To be sure, there are items, like the poem commemorating the "tenth year of martyrdom" of Ali Tahawe, who was killed during the 1972 terrorist attack on Lod airport, which would make most censors reach for their stamps or pencils.

But surely items reporting a conference on the preservation of Palestinian history in Tunis, the resignation of Menahem Milson as head of the civil administration or the despatch of French troops to join the multinational force in Beirut do not warrant the same treatment.

FOLLOWING the fiasco surrounding the censorship of books initiated by Anthony Lewis' articles, the censor issued a revised master list of censored books in September 1982. This list contains 1,002 titles, and although some 600 titles have been added subsequently, the original list served as the sample for Benvenisti's survey.

Since 1977, there has been a phenomenal increase in the import

of Arabic books, following the opening of the border with Egypt. In 1981, 21,432 titles were imported. Of these only 3 or 4 per cent were censored, but Benvenisti notes that they "represent 100 per cent of all works that express, instill, or foster Palestinian-Arab national feelings and national heritage."

Benvenisti stresses that his study is *ex post facto* and that no attempt has been made to interview the censors on their intentions, but rather to examine their motivations through their actions.

Here the statistics provide useful guidelines. It appears that the name of a publishing house already gives the censor an indication of content without requiring him to read the books — hence the disproportionate number of banned titles from the PLO Research Centre which used to exist in Beirut, and a communist publishing house, *A-Tall'a*.

"The high percentage of fiction and poetry works censored (25.6 per cent), and the large number of poets and novelists censored point to the importance the censor attaches to that type of literature. This is not surprising, since poetry is traditionally a means of expressing nationalist feelings," Benvenisti notes.

ALMOST all translations into Arabic are of anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic works and the title of the translation has usually been sufficient to ban the book. *Israel Should be Eliminated, The Jewish Threat* and Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* are examples.

The sample chosen by Benvenisti was reviewed by two Israeli experts in Arabic literature and by a Druze poet and lawyer. The sample was chosen by author and by subject, and each reviewer was given an hour per title (said to correspond to the average time the censor spends inspecting a book).

Their conclusions were that "the censor is systematic, consistent and knowledgeable. Although he may censor titles because of a single sentence, one can understand his concerns, which are not arbitrary."

Books which included Nasserism, Zionism and Palestine in the title or which connect Zionism with imperialism or communism are banned, as are translations which include an offensive phrase in the Arabic introduction.

The censor also forbids the import or local "publication" of any book dealing with "Arab partisan perceptions of controversial issues, even if the work is a serious study in geography, history or Judaism."

Any book that projects Israel as a

product of imperialism, denies the right of Israel to exist, questions the sanctity of the Bible or Jewish morality or describes Israeli weakness in war or cruelty is banned. So are works depicting Israel from the Marxist point of view, stating there is a chance that Israel will be destroyed, including Islamic fundamentalist rejection of Western values or glorifying Arab leaders who fought Israel.

ANY POETRY or fiction connected even indirectly and symbolically with Palestine is banned. The censor's "all or nothing" perceptions of the conflict and clearly reflected in his decisions, Benvenisti concludes. "He genuinely believes that one can stifle nationalist feelings by preventing the reading of works that directly or indirectly indicate that such nationalism exists."

Here too, Benvenisti supplies some examples and, while most clearly fit into the censor's categories of what should be banned, there are also puzzling exercises of his power. A book published in Cairo in 1958, dealing with contemporary world problems, is described by the reviewers as "matter-of-fact and exhaustive." In the chapter discussing the Gulf of Akaba and the Sinai Campaign, Israeli actions are described as "aggressive" and tied to the aims of England and France.

The invasion of Sinai is acknowledged as difficult because of the problem of transportation and supply in the desert and Israeli plans are described as "secret," as they surely must have been. The headline of the chapter is also pretty mild — "Israel's plots."

"Otherwise there is nothing worth censoring in this book," the reviewers conclude.

ISRAELIS and Palestinians are engaged in a "zero-sum game," Benvenisti concludes. "The fulfilment of the other's national identity is perceived by each group as equivalent to the destruction of its own identity."

"The Israeli censor, suffering like his compatriots from the 'besieged minority syndrome,' sees the *publication* of a nationalist Palestinian paper, irrespective of its contents, as a provocation; and one sided reporting of events in the territories as 'emphasizing violence against Israel and the military government, non-recognition of Israel and provocation against it'."

"The struggle over censorship will persist, as the struggle over legitimacy will persist, until both sides abandon the view that they are engaged in a game that only one can win."

This article was also submitted to the censor. No changes were made in the text.

The Mosley mystery

By HYAM CORNEY / Post London Correspondent

WHEN THE campaign to release the Mosley papers began modestly earlier this year, few people gave it any chance of succeeding. It just sounded like a good gimmick. Indeed, even one of the organizers told me that he didn't think that it had "a cat in hell's chance" of getting anywhere.

But it has. At the beginning of November, the Home Office relented and agreed to the release of a large batch of papers that had been held back from public view for about 30 years (in Britain, official papers are usually released after 30 years).

Not all, however, have been released and at a meeting at the House of Commons on Wednesday, the organizers of the campaign made it clear that they would not

rest until everything relating to this period of British history was available to public scrutiny.

Norman Atkinson, a Labour MP, who presided at the meeting, said there was a strong suspicion that those papers still being held back dealt with relations between the British Fascist leader Oswald Mosley and the royal family.

Stan Newens, who lost his seat as a Labour MP in the June election and who has been the key figure in the research side of the issue, expressed increasing concern in general about "unnecessary and unjustified secrecy over public records. The situation is totally unsatisfactory, and Britain compares very unfavourably with the situation in other democratic countries."

This theme was taken up by another Labour MP, veteran Ian Mikardo, a Jew and a Zionist, who has represented East End constituencies in the House of Commons for many years and who can remember the activities of Mosley and his Fascists in their battles against the Jews. "Of all the democracies in the world," Mikardo declared, "Britain is the one country in which access to public information is the least readily

available. Secrecy is carried to lengths that would simply not be tolerated in other democracies."

THE PAPERS released so far relate to the activities of Mosley's British Union of Fascists between 1934 and 1937. According to Newens, who has made a detailed study of them, they reveal that "powerful sections of the British establishment" wanted to make peace with Hitler. "It is not Mosley who was being

protected by the records being kept closed," Newens said. "A whole group of the British establishment was prepared to come to terms with Hitler, and after the war, they preferred that their past views should be forgotten."

"Today, people tend to forget that many people in the Conservative Party and in the establishment were prepared to make a deal with Hitler. They were prepared to come to terms with him even as late

as the early years of the war. There is a very important job to be done today in exposing this state of affairs. There is a great deal about Mosley and the Fascists which still has to be brought to light."

"There are lessons to be drawn today from these issues if we are to take an intelligent approach to current problems such as whether it is wise to support Fascist governments as alternatives to communist regimes."

One aspect of the Mosley period that particularly interests those in the campaign to release the papers, is the links between Lord Rothermere of the *Daily Mail* and Lord Beaverbrook of the *Daily Express*. Once political allies within the short-lived United Empire Party

of 1930, they parted when Beaverbrook returned to the Tory party, and Rothermere continued and developed his relationship with the ultra-right. But the two remained firm friends, and in May 1934, Rothermere warned Mosley that *Daily Mail* support for his British Union of Fascists would be threatened if Mosley continued to attack Beaverbrook.

THE ORGANIZERS of the campaign say they are convinced that files have been withheld because they give the lie to the frail myth that the vast majority of the establishment were hostile to Mosley's politics. The reverse, they say, is possibly nearer to the truth. They will continue to press for the release of all the remaining files.

Reactions to Lebanon

By WOLF BLITZER / Post Washington Correspondent

HOW HAS the U.S. media reacted to the latest escalation of American involvement in Lebanon? In short, there has been a predictable response, covering the entire spectrum of opinion.

Some major newspapers, columnists and television commentators have welcomed the new get-tough U.S. approach towards Syria. Others, of course, have bitterly complained, urging the U.S. to pull its forces out of Lebanon immediately. Still others have taken a middle course. *The Wall Street Journal*, for example, was among the most outspoken in applauding

President Ronald Reagan's decision to use American air power against Syrian positions in Lebanon.

An editorial on Tuesday said Reagan's "announced policy of responding to Syria's militarists in the only language they understand is an appropriate first step" in helping the American public better appreciate the stakes for U.S. interests in Lebanon.

"First of all," the newspaper said, "what we're dealing with in the Syrians is basically a bunch of thugs. This isn't the government of Lebanon or Jordan or Saudi Arabia. This is the crowd that most

recently gave a group of Iranian Shi'ites the means to blow up American, French and Israeli military compounds.

"These are the Syrians whose entry into the Shouf Mountains was followed by unprecedented acts of slaughter. And — an event that keeps trying to dive down the

memory hole — this is the Syrian government that in 1982 sent troops into the city of Hama and annihilated some 25,000 Syrian citizens for opposing the policies of President Hafez Assad.

"The fact that Syria's foreign minister is now invoking the UN charter to say the U.S. is 'undermin-

ing the sovereignty and independence of countries in the region' doesn't mean the rest of us have to pretend we're dealing with a civilized member of the community of nations."

ON THE other side, syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft urged the

administration to remove the marines from Lebanon immediately. Referring to the air strike on Sunday, Kraft wrote: "The lesson is that, after striking back hard, the U.S. must pull the marines from Beirut in the interests of its more serious international business."

According to Kraft, the U.S. has two major commitments in the region: "American power is required to offset the Russians in the whole area," he said. "It is also needed to reassure the conservative Arab monarchies and sheikdoms against the threat posed by the Iranian revolution. But those responsibilities are best served by standing slightly aloof, on the ready to come in as a balancing factor."

Broader global interests are endangered by investing so much U.S. prestige and military muscle in Lebanon. Thus, Kraft concluded, "the paramount requirement is to move the marines out of Beirut in short order. For their continued presence as hostages to the crazies of world politics is fundamentally incompatible with international security."

Columnist Flora Lewis, writing in *The New York Times*, urged Reagan to immediately open a dialogue with the Soviet Union to try to calm down the Syrians. "Mr. Assad does run a bloody regime, and Lebanon might have a chance to find some formula for domestic reconciliation if he would permit it," she said. "But that is not a reason to stagger on towards utter tragedy in the vain hope of reforming him. The new U.S. mission in Lebanon is unrealistic. The time to stop, parlay and back away is now."

She raised the spectre of America and the Soviet Union being dragged into a direct conflict: "The most serious failing of Reagan administration foreign policy has been the rupture of substantive talks with Moscow. But it isn't too late."

taken by *The Washington Post*. It urged the administration to keep its attention focused on solving the political problems in Lebanon. And that, the newspaper said, could not be done by only using military force.

"Given the formidable internal and external obstacles, it was never going to be easy to achieve a Lebanese settlement. But a heavy burden rests on American policymakers to keep the common focus on a Lebanese negotiation and to seek ways to work with Syria, and Israel, on the outer circle."

"As long as Washington is still in the game, the marines should remain, and while they remain, their tormentors cannot be accorded immunity. It cannot be forgotten, however, that it is not just American toughness and determination that are being tested, it is also American sophistication and diplomatic skill."

The New York Times said the U.S. has finally "absorbed some important lessons of recent Middle East diplomacy." It cited the following points: "Saudi Arabia, for all its wealth and 'moderation,' is a weak reed... Jordan's King Hussein will not risk his throne for anything more than informal coexistence with Israel... Syria will not soon be pushed or negotiated out of Lebanon... Israel will not again take heavy casualties except in defense of its territory... The Soviet Union will have influence in the Middle East so long as there are Arabs covet its arms... Lebanon is not a coherent society that peace-keeping troops, or any other kind, can turn into a viable nation."

That is a brief summary of mainstream media opinion. Debate has been lively. So far, at least, Israel is not receiving a lot of criticism for supposedly dragging the U.S. into the Lebanese mess.

For that, Israeli officials in Washington are grateful. They are also keeping their fingers crossed.

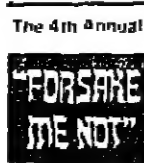


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How cold is the peace?

How cold the 'cold peace'?

By DAVID LANDAU

HE TROUBLE with a "cold peace," says a senior Israeli official, is that it gets colder the longer it is deprived of the warmth of human contact. The opposite is also true: frequent contacts between top policy-makers can improve a relationship, even if they do not produce agreement on the issues. Yitzhak Shamir was a case in point. When he took over the reins of the Ministry in 1980, he was dubious about the treaty with Egypt — he had opposed Camp David — and personally touched the drama of the peace process. But in the subsequent two years of fairly regular meetings with Egyptian leaders, he visibly warmed the peace and its potential. How useful it would be, the senior official says, and how hard, if Defense Minister Moshe Arens, another early sceptic, could build up a direct personal relationship with Gen. Abu Gazala, Egyptian opposite number, and Egyptian ministers and top officers.

absence-of-war aspect of the peace with Egypt. The fact that no Israeli has been killed on the southern front since President Sadat visited Jerusalem can hardly be stressed enough. "But peace is more than end-of-belligerency — especially if your basic assumption is, as mine is, that we seek ultimately to become an integral part of this region." Premier Shamir, reviewing the Israel-Egypt situation in his talks in Washington, said the evolving quality of relations with Egypt was a yardstick of the maturity of the Arab world in general and its political preparedness to live in real peace with Israel.

ON THE EGYPTIAN SIDE, the long months without meetings, without a high-level dialogue, have witnessed — some Israelis would say they caused — a regression in the hardening of policy positions. Egypt now says, according to the senior Israeli official, that it will not resume the long-stalled autonomy talks without Jordan and the Palestinians also participating. This is a deviation from Egypt's original position (enshrined in a letter accompanying the peace treaty) that "In the event Jordan decides not to take part... the negotiations will be held by Israel and Egypt." Egyptian officials explain that two years of desultory talks on the autonomy scheme between Israel and Egypt alone proved fruitless. In addition, Egypt now indicates that it would agree to resume talk-

ing only on the basis of the Reagan Plan. President Reagan depicts the plan as an elaboration of Camp David; but Israel has rejected it as a material departure from the original agreement. "I am personally convinced," says the Israeli official, "though I know there are other opinions here, that had the autonomy talks not been broken off, they would have produced an agreement. We were not all that far apart. I am sure there are many West Bank Palestinians today who regret that the negotiation lapsed."

BECAUSE OF the fear of the "cold peace" deep-freezing, says the senior official, "Israel ardently wants to improve the relationship." Despite the persistent cold-shouldering — only this week Israeli exhibits were barred from a Cairo book fair — Jerusalem will keep trying, "but without crawling," the official adds. Recently there have been mixed signs, and some new disappointments. In the summer, after the signing of the May 17 agreement with Lebanon, Israel awaited confidently the return of the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv. Seemingly firm promises were transmitted, but the envoy failed to reappear. Legal experts here say the 15-month absence of an ambassador is

becoming a juridical problem, not merely a political one. After all, Egypt committed itself as part of the peace treaty package "to send a resident ambassador to Israel." A 15-month recall "for consultations" strains the legal test of reasonableness. Meanwhile import licences have been lapsing one after another, and trade between the two countries is drying up. There have been hints recently, says the senior official, of a thaw both in trade and in Egyptian tourism to Israel. "But so far we didn't see it — and it is not for a lack of interest by businessmen on both sides."

ALSO ON the debit side is Egypt's sustained virulence in the tone and tenor of its rhetoric at the United Nations. An Egyptian delegate recently referred to Israeli "concentration camps" in South Lebanon, though he must have known the special sensitivity of this term. Israel for its part has not responded in kind. On the contrary, Israel made a point of voting in favour of Egypt's accession to the Security Council. In Washington, Prime Minister Shamir complained about Egyptian verbal attacks at the UN. He also showed the Americans a sheaf of flagrantly anti-Semitic cartoons and

articles from the Egyptian press. The credit side of the ledger is not overly long — apart, of course, from that most vital heading, the demilitarization of Sinai, which is reasonably well adhered to. There are violations, duly reported by the Multinational Force and Observers, but the overall feeling on the Israeli side is not of urgent anxiety, but rather of steady caution. The MFO itself has been a real success story, according to the senior official. Both Israel and Egypt are fully satisfied with it and hope that all 10 contributing nations will keep their contingents in without change (Australia is reportedly considering withdrawing its men.) Regarding the non-military aspects of the peace treaty, the Israeli ambassador in Cairo and his staff continue to function — and continue to be shunned by many sectors of Egyptian society. There is no comparison, says the senior official, between the access that the Egyptian charge d'affaires here has to all areas of Israeli life — the government, the media, the arts, social circles — and the much more limited ambit in which the Israeli diplomats in Cairo operate. Similarly, Prof. Shimon Shamir's Academic Centre in Cairo is still a going concern — but its area of outreach is also limited, mainly to

Egyptians studying Hebrew or Israeli affairs. THE FLOW of oil continues smoothly, to the benefit of both sides. Applying the cup metaphor to the normalization, says the senior official, it is three-quarters empty or one quarter full. More than 50 bilateral agreements were signed by the two countries, but most of them are inoperative at present. The most hopeful sign of late was the invitation to David Kimche, Director-General of the Foreign Ministry, to visit Cairo early last month for talks with top officials there. Accompanied by the ministry's legal adviser, Elyakim Rubinstein, who has been involved in the peace process since its earliest days, Kimche spent three days discussing mainly the very issues of the "cold peace." He met with Foreign Minister Kamel Hassan Ali, Minister of State Boutros Ghali, and senior ministry aides. One tangible result of the visit is that there is soon to be a reciprocal visit by an Egyptian official of equivalent rank. Granted, this is not yet a resumption of dialogue on the leadership level, but Israel is hoping it will pave the way to ministerial meetings. THAT, THEN, is the state of the balance-sheet at this time. The senior Israeli official denies that the "cold peace" and lack of contact have had the effect of hardening Israel's positions, too — particularly

on Tabat, the disputed beach south of Haifa. Israel's stand now is that the talks on Tabat should resume as soon as possible — but in Jerusalem and Cairo, the two capitals. In the past this insistence on Jerusalem as a venue for the Tabat talks seemed absent, or certainly less accented, in the Israeli position. Israel stressed instead that Tabat talks must be part of a general resumption of the diplomatic dialogue between the two countries. The senior official says this second condition is still valid, too. But he emphasizes Jerusalem. Talks on Tabat were held there many times before, he recalls, and Israel cannot now depart from that precedent. Granted, there were some talks on Tabat held at Ismailia last March. But they, says the official, concerned the interim arrangements at the disputed site, not the permanent solution, and thus they were held in the framework of the Israel-Egypt mixed commission. Israel never insisted on Jerusalem as a venue for the autonomous talks. But that was a special case because, according to the Egyptian position, Jerusalem was not an issue in those talks. The senior official vigorously asserts that Israel has no wish to drag out the Tabat affair, which has become a serious irritant in the relationship. On the contrary, he says, Israel, having invested a great deal of legal research and spadework, is more confident than ever of its case, and anxious to reach the "conciliation or arbitration" procedure laid down in the peace treaty for resolution of disputes. The writer is the Jerusalem correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

FTER WEEKS of seesawing decisions and conflicting reports, it was not clear this week whether or not the nationwide network of ulpanim would fall victim to a major axing of the budget. At first thought it was downright daring to discover that when Minister of Education Zevulun Hammer went through the motions according to Finance Minister Menachem Begin's demands for major cuts in his budget, the first victim came to the ministry's mind was the Hebrew ulpanim. The cuts envisaged for the ulpan budgets would have closed scores of such adult education centres in kibbutzim, immigrant absorption centres and cities, and would have left thousands of olim to go only half alive in an Israeli one-tongue as yet Hebrew. Two aspects of this exercise were legitimate cause for concern. One was the programme could be sacrificed, while the ministry's plethora of religious programmes, job benefit and are desired by a minority of those using them, totally untouched. A disproportionately large slice of education budgets have been diverted

towards these programmes during Mr. Hammer's close to seven years as minister, both as an undisputed bribe of Agudat Yisrael and for the purpose of "proselytizing" the majority of secular children in the state school system. Secondly, the ulpan network developed in Israel over the past three decades, and the experience garnered in the methods of teaching a difficult language to immigrants from a multitude of cultural backgrounds have been one of Israel's most remarkable achievements. Naturally it is difficult to believe that one of Israel's greatest successes would be the first victim in budget cutting when the evidence of one's eyes is that much of the economic *dolce vita* of the past few years is still continuing for a sizeable minority of the population. But when one remembers what Yigal Orgad's predecessor, Yoram Aridor, did to the ulpanim, it is not surprising that the ministry's modern export agriculture — one fears that a "natural law" may exist, which decrees that the best and most impressive should also be the first victims. And then comes the announce-

An axe without political clout

By YOSEF GOELL

ment by the chairwoman of the Knesset Education Committee, Ora Namir, that she has reached agreement with Hammer, now in hospital, that any decision on the ulpanim budgets be put off until he recovers from his recent heart attack. Could it be that Hammer shrewdly selected the ulpanim as his ostensible budget victim knowing full well that the ensuing national outcry and the involved interest groups would prevent the axe from actually falling? THE AXE has been stayed; what is coming more and more into ques-

tion is the reality of Cohen-Orgad's economic policy. There is reason to believe, and the ulpanim is a case in point, that Orgad's determination to cut the operating budgets of government departments and agencies is as much a chimera as was Aridor's declaration of similar intent. So many things have happened in the past four months that it is easy to forget that Yoram Aridor was at the same point last August as Cohen-Orgad is today. Aridor, after more than half a year of obstinacy and dithering in the face of growing evidence of the total failure of his dollar-foolish attempt to contain inflation, finally made his U-turn, and

called for major cuts in government budgets. He was outwitted by his ministerial colleagues, whose fiefdoms he was threatening. Aridor was one of the most morose, abrasive characters ever to have made it to the top of the political heap in this country. Yet he was said to possess great power in Herut, due to his role in turning a potential Herut electoral debacle in 1981 into a narrow victory. That power did not help him get his way when he finally came to his economic sense last August. Cohen-Orgad is in many ways Aridor's antithesis. He has been making the most dire economic prophecies but with a perpetual smile on his face. He is also given full credit for his courage in being nearly the only Herut member who openly criticized Aridor's economic madness before it was fashionable to do so. But he has none of Aridor's political clout. And he has been just as unsuccessful in getting his ministerial colleagues to change their profligate ways. The economic atmosphere has changed, however, thanks to the

crash of the bank share market in early October and to the major devaluation of the shekel that followed. Many Israeli families are feeling the economic pinch for the first time in years, and quite a number are hurting. COHEN-ORGAD, as a savvy economist, would be the first to admit that although the economy cannot be put back on the tracks without a general reduction in the population's real standard of living, such a cutback by itself is economically pointless and politically suicidal. Professional and academic economists who applauded the October devaluation were unanimous in noting that it should have been preceded by a major cut in government expenditure and by a social compact with the Histadrut that would have included a partial freeze on the compensatory cost-of-living payments to be paid. These same economists are today saying that the October devaluation was "wasted" as a mechanism for economic reform, and that subsequent inflation has already caught up with and

wiped out nearly all the advantages that were supposed to accrue to our exports. As a professional economist, Cohen-Orgad knows this as well as most of his professional colleagues. His problem is persuading Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, before he gets to his impending cabinet reshuffle, that what is needed is not a reshuffle but a basic upheaval in the composition of the Likud-led government coalition and a major change in their suicidal habits. In all likelihood, by early spring the public will wake up to the fact that the economic sacrifices have been in vain — that a significant portion of the standard of living of 80 per cent of the population has been "washed away" by its leaders and had no impact whatever on reversing the downward spiral of the national economy. When one considers that a Labour Party mesmerized with its own internal squabbling committed electoral suicide in 1977, is there any reason to believe that the Likud will not follow suit in 1984? The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

ISRAEL AS A Strategic Asset" is the title of an article in the American monthly *Commentary* magazine. There, Professor Steven Legel, of the University of California, presented a detailed comparison of the relative contributions Israel and the Arab states to U.S. security in the Middle East. Summing up, he wrote: "A hard look at the potential allies of the U.S. in the Middle East returns us to Israel as the only country in the region upon whom we can rely." Thereupon, he added a crushing analysis of American policy, concluding his charge in a dramatic passage: "In Shakespeare's *King Lear*, the monarch foolishly relinquishes his kingdom to two daughters who flatter him with expensive but false promises of everlasting devotion. He discards his one faithful daughter, Cordelia. The analogy with America's current Middle East policy is compelling. Countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which offer friendship but will not cooperate with U.S. defence or diplomatic efforts, are regarded as crucial allies, whereas Israel — which offers facilities and services — is progressively treated as a pariah, a candidate for economic sanctions and political isolation. *King Lear* destroyed his life, his family and his kingdom because he did not judge between friend and foe. The moral for the United States is obvious." Four months later, the events of October 23 provided a grim illustration of Spiegel's theme: the U.S. use of Israeli offers of immediately available treatment for marines wounded in the Beirut explosion that morning. An hour-by-hour reconstruction

of that tragic day, painstakingly prepared by Congressman James H. Scheuer of New York, revealed (as Scheuer wrote) that "during a 12-hour period on Sunday, October 23, the Israelis repeatedly contacted American officials at every level possible with offers of assistance — equipment, rescue teams and a first-class hospital. No one took them up on the offer, despite the fact that the decision-makers in Beirut and in Washington knew, as that terrible day dragged on, that our evacuees were not going to reach definitive care hospitals in less than 10 to 23 hours." (*Baltimore Sun*, November 18, 1983). Despite obfuscation and prevarication by members of the defence establishment — trenchantly described in Scheuer's article — the Washington policy-makers' decision to risk lives, certainly to increase and prolong suffering, among their own soldiers was indisputably dictated by a desire, as one Pentagon spokesman did let slip on October 24, "not to infuriate the Arabs." Fate thus cast a penetrating light on the totality of years-long U.S. policy in the Middle East — designed ostensibly to strengthen deterrence of Soviet penetration, but in fact governed by the principle of not "infuriating the Arabs," of appeasing and fawning upon them, of encouraging them to continue the flow of petrodollars...

BARELY SIX WEEKS after that bloody day in Beirut, Premier Yitzhak Shamir and Defence Minister Moshe Arens returned from meetings in Washington with President Ronald Reagan and his advisers, beaming with euphoric smiles and making encouraging statements about agreement reached on increased U.S. economic aid, on possible enhanced trade relations and — the crux of the agreement — about providing for a degree of strategic consultation and cooperation (including the prepositioning of U.S. supplies in Israel). The whole agreement was enveloped in an unspoken consensus on the common interest of Israel and the U.S. in deterring Syrian belligerence and blocking

Engagement of convenience

By SHMUEL KATZ

the expansion of Soviet power in Lebanon. IN SHORT, an apparent reversal of U.S. policy. For seven years, Washington fostered the Syrian involvement which undermined Lebanese independence, transforming the Beirut government into a puppet of Damascus. It stretched out a protecting arm to the PLO — which used Lebanon as a base for attacks on Israel's civilian population, established Lebanon as the central headquarters of international terrorism, and subjected its population to a reign of rapine and murder. Washington worked to frustrate every Israeli effort to break the power of the PLO. It successfully pressed Israel in 1981 (at Arafat's behest) to stop its offensive against PLO bases, thus giving Arafat his breathing space to prepare, with Soviet aid, a new, massive offensive against Israel; and indubitably thus forced upon Israel the Peace for Galilee operation in 1982. That operation laid the foundation — at great cost to Israel — for tremendous objective advantages for both Israel and the U.S. It destroyed the PLO base and structure; it established conditions for renewed Lebanese independence; it clipped the Syrian wings. These gains were largely undermined by the application of traditional American policy — dancing to the Saudi tune, urging the Lebanese president to distance himself from Israel, exerting pressure on Israel calculated to prevent the completion of its speedy military success.

The result was a prolongation of the war, delay in crushing the PLO; the Syrians were enabled to recover, with Soviet aid, from the severe blows they suffered in their brief effort to stay the Israeli advance; and tremendous encouragement was given to all the warring sects in the country. As the American Liberal weekly *The New Republic* pointed out (August 1, 1983): "Pressing the Lebanese to embark on a clear path of peace with the Israelis... would have been the clearest possible sign of U.S. support for a strong, independent and neutral government in Beirut. By doing precisely the opposite, we signalled the Lebanese factions that they might, with our indulgence, continue to business as usual — violent and anarchic business." A rational policy of cooperation with Israel in the fall of 1982 would

have consolidated mutual gains and averted much suffering; and would arguably have ruled out the seething of U.S. marines to Beirut. Such were the sins of Washington, compounded by a fatuous belief in a Saudi "moderating" influence on Damascus — and by recurrent pincery of the Israeli government. Then, entangled in the web of Lebanese reality, horrendously illumined by the tragedy of October 23, Washington woke up to the fact that the only hope of credibly confronting Syrian ambitions was by forging a framework for cooperation with Israel, in belated recognition of the common interest in Lebanon. IT IS, thus, no secret that the Washington agreement is an engagement of convenience, with a view to helping the U.S. out of the muddle into which it was landed by its obsessive traditional policy. But it is absurd and hypocritical to hint or pretend (as Labour Party spokesmen have done this week) that the proposed cooperation with the U.S. conflicts with Israeli interests. It is an Israeli interest to prevent Syrian domination of Lebanon — which is but an instalment in its design to include all of Palestine, on both sides of Jordan in "Greater Syria." It is an Israeli interest to have a peaceful, stable, independent and friendly Lebanon as a neighbour. If Washington has

finally awakened to its own interest in these objectives, the people of Israel (including the Labour Party) may permit themselves to share in Shamir's and Arens' satisfaction at the Washington agreement; and to hope and pray that it will succeed in its purpose. NOT FOR a moment, however, must it be forgotten that the American turnabout on Lebanon is a "local" aberration from its traditional policy. It does not signal a change in Washington's attitude, unchanged for so many years and indeed obsessive, on the crucial issue of Israel's future. It persists in its intention to press Israel to withdraw to the 1949 Armistice Lines and bring about Arab rule in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. In the recent talks in Washington, too, Reagan did not forget to reiterate, albeit briefly, his expectations of "his" plan, not to repeat the cliché that the "settlements" are an "obstacle to peace." This laconic reference serves as a further reminder — and warning — to Israel. There are now signs that the administration may find it possible to remove the Reagan Plan from the back burner before the presidential election. It depends on Hussein. There are signs that Hussein may succumb to American blandishments (including the promise that Israel will be subjected to immediate pressure to "freeze the settlements" and to agree to

open the subject of Jerusalem.) He would then announce, with or without Arafat's consent, his willingness to negotiate. On the basis, of course, of the Reagan Plan — which Jerusalem has rejected as an invitation to suicide. If this happens, the pursuit of the plan (with the slogan of "Reagan the Peacemaker") could become a central theme in the Republicans' election campaign. The vigour of such a campaign — to which the Democrats would have no convincing reply in view of their own record — may be imagined. A wise government in Jerusalem, instead of merely basking in the warmth currently flowing from Washington, would, even at this late hour, hasten to effect a drastic revision in its information policy; and pre-empt the administration's campaign by creating a belt of resistance to the Reagan Plan within the American community. Should Hussein again reject Washington's wooing, Israel will have more time to prepare such pre-emption. The campaign for the shrinking of Israel will merely be postponed until after the presidential election (possibly re-clothed, of course, in a "Mandate" plan, or a "Glenn" plan). WILL the Shamir government crumble, at long last, the ongoing *hashara* blunders of its predecessors?

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From left: Moshe Dayan; Jewish settlements in the West Bank — Yakir in foreground, Emmanuel in background; Arab demonstrators hold Palestinian flag aloft; Cyrus Vance... 'Failures of omission and commission on both sides.'

SETTLEMENT AND STRIFE

The text of an address by former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance in Tel Aviv this week at the opening of the Dayan Centre for Middle East and African Studies.

TO HAVE KNOWN Moshe Dayan as a colleague and a strong and trusted friend was a great privilege. Surely he was one of the outstanding men of our time — statesman, soldier, scholar, and patriot.

From our first meeting, in early 1977, I was struck by his firm grasp of the problems we faced, by his agile mind and originality of thought, by the vision and wisdom which he brought to every discussion which engaged us.

His contributions to the success of the Camp David Accords, and to the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, can never be adequately described. Always a patriot, he nonetheless was able to find paths to solutions that were acceptable to both the Egyptians and his own delegation. When the outcome of the negotiations seemed dark and hopeless, as it did on several occasions, it was then Moshe who would propose a new way of considering the question at hand, or offer a new insight, illuminating the path ahead.

Without his presence and his total involvement for months on end, in spite of the pain that plagued him increasingly, the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty could not have been achieved.

It is given to few men to do so much within their allotted time. Moshe used those years to the fullest. He has left an unforgettable record on the pages of history.

MOSHE AND I often talked about the relationship between Israel and the U.S. — the ties that bind us, the strains that test us, and the importance of the common values and aspirations of our peoples. I will not speak about that relationship and what must be done to nourish it.

We start from the fact that the United States and Israel share a unique relationship. There are close ties between our governments and strong links between the peoples and the institutions in our two societies, all serving similar national interests. Above all, we are partners in the pursuit of democracy and freedom. I believe the special character of the relationship derives from this duality: the sharing of both interests and values. We each seek the search for economic prosperity with a deep concern for human welfare. We each place great emphasis on scientific and intellectual development and leadership, while respecting cultural traditions and religious commitments.

As in the nature of most special relationships, there are special tensions. Here they stem primarily from the differences in our respective size and position in the world community and from the vulnerability of our two nations to differing external threats. The United States is a global power living on a continent washed by two oceans, a nation that has not felt the impact of battle on its own soil for over a hundred years. Israel is a regional power located in the crowded Middle East. It has faced war on its borders almost without cease since its birth. The United States is a global and nuclear power with concomitant responsibilities to citizens and to the world com-

munity, while Israel is concerned with concrete threats from terrorism and conventional warfare, from which it must protect its citizens. These differences in the security concerns of each country and the nature of their respective responsibilities understandably lead to variances of perception about the course each should follow in particular circumstances.

THERE ARE two contending views of the world inherent in American foreign policy: the theme of a polarized world and that of a world of interdependence. The "polarized world" theme posits for America an adversarial relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. In this context, the United States emphasizes its military capabilities and its principal goals are the maintenance and development of military strength and the projection of power into regions of the world potentially vulnerable to Soviet domination.

The concept of an "interdependent world" stresses the importance of peaceful relations among nations. In this view, the things American people cherish — freedom, justice, prosperity, and the hope for a better world for our children and for all mankind — are seen as depending on cooperative relationships with other nations. When this theme dominates, policy emphasizes the search for diplomatic solutions that will reduce the likelihood of tears in the fabric of peaceful coexistence.

Both themes are sounded in any American administration's foreign policy. Politicians and parties differ in their stress on each. From time to time, shifts occur so that one theme predominates over the other. Yet it is fair to say that a successful foreign policy addresses each in a balanced fashion, obtaining the benefits of interdependence while maintaining the strength to deter aggression. Such strength is not merely military; it includes economic and political strength as well. In a democracy, free expression of political views and a free press ensure that, over time, both themes are heard.

ISRAEL'S foreign policy, it seems to me, also moves between these themes. The first theme sees Israel surrounded by a sea of hostile Arab nations bent on its destruction. In this image, Israel's primary concern is for its military strength, its capacity to deter and defeat any attack from any Arab state or combination of Arab states. Like the polarization motif of Soviet-American rivalry, it is fed by tangible acts of hostility, such as terrorism, or the angry rhetoric of vilification often heard in international forums.

The second Israeli theme is that of regional interdependence and the pursuit of peace. Here the search is for a regional role for Israel as a nation among equals: not excluded but not dominant; a participant in cooperative economic, political, and social relations based on common benefit. This is a difficult foreign policy to maintain because it is often sidetracked by fear and distrust on both sides.

Balancing these two themes in each of our countries, is, I believe,

the key to the nurturing the managing of the special relationship between the United States and Israel.

Unless a proper balance is struck between these contending themes, there cannot be a successful foreign policy in either of our countries.

For example, if U.S. policy is so dominated by a preoccupation with East-West rivalry that we fail to devote proper attention to helping to resolve the problems of the Middle East, the chances for progress are diminished and our relations with Israel strained.

If Israel places primary emphasis on military solutions and on maintaining the military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, our relationship is also strained.

In either case, the result will be a skewed policy that will cause domestic strains in our respective countries and tensions between our two nations as these policies are played out in the Middle East.

IT IS THE responsibility of the leaders of both nations to make sure that a "proper balance" is struck. Both countries must remain strong to deter aggression, but both must also recognize that military domination of other peoples cannot produce long-term security for anyone. We must always remember, as we said at Camp David, that "security is enhanced by a relationship of peace between nations which enjoy normal relations." No nations or people will long remain peaceful when occupied by a foreign power.

Moreover, if either Israel or the United States allows itself to define our relationship primarily in military terms, we will damage the strands that have drawn us together. We will denigrate the deeper bond between us, a bond based on shared aspirations for peace and stability and the chance for our peoples to live their lives in dignity and freedom.

Let me be clear about basic U.S. attitudes and policies. The commitment of the United States and the American people to the security and the future of Israel is firm. There can be no questioning of that American sense of purpose. This is in our interest as well as Israel's, as together we try to work for peace, a stability, and progress in the Middle East.

One of the most important issues affecting our relationship is the unfinished business of Camp David. What I am about to say is not new. But it bears repeating. We all start from the same place — the search for a just, comprehensive, and durable peace. All of us have repeated these words time and again. Sadly, however, our actions have not matched our words. But there is neither time nor is it fruitful to dwell on the errors of the past. There have been failures of omission and commission on all sides — more than enough to go around. Whatever the reasons, it is undeniable that we have permitted serious negotiations on the core issues to languish and atrophy to a point where virtually nothing is happening. The cruel fact is that no real substantive negotiations on either the West Bank and Gaza, or the Palestinian question have taken place for many, many months.

ONE REASON is that for so long our attention and efforts have been

drawn away from these issues by the agony of Lebanon, Lebanon and the core issues are related. But our grappling with the one is no justification for neglecting the others.

Let me make clear that I am not suggesting that we should put aside the problems of Lebanon. Far from it. But, in my judgment, rather than dealing with these problems *ad seriatim*, we must pursue a dual or multi-track approach. To do so would ensure the commitment of our constant and active attention to each of the central issues that confront us.

As we watch what is happening daily on the West Bank, we see creeping annexation of that land. Unless reversed, before long, there will be *de facto* annexation. When this takes place, all of us will face grave danger. *De facto* annexation will mean that Resolution 242 is destroyed and, with it, the fundamental bargain of exchanging territory for full peace, a bargain that has been the basis for all the progress made to date. We will then find ourselves back at square one. The West Bank problem will be expanded into an East Bank problem, as well, with consequent danger for the Jordanian monarchy. And even the progress that has been made through the various disengagement agreements, Camp David, and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty will be placed in jeopardy.

It may be that some settlement-building on the West Bank might contribute to Israel's short-term security. But Israel must ask itself whether such security is worth the price of foreclosing the process of peace and a more lasting security based on political agreement rather than force of arms.

The United States must hold out to Israel an uncompromising commitment to Israel's security, coupled with a vision of a future of peace. But we must also make it unmistakably clear that settlement-building should cease, and that the future of the settlements is a proper subject for negotiation within the Camp David framework.

This should not be viewed as an attempt to punish Israel. Rather it is a statement of political fact about the Middle East and about Israel's prospects for a peaceful future. To be sure, the Palestinian problem is not the only issue in the Middle East, but it is a problem that cannot be ignored, and it is linked to other major issues governing the peace and stability of the region.

I do not wish to suggest that fault lies only with Israel. There is fault on all sides. There has been inflexibility and unwillingness to act by Arab parties as well, and the United States has not consistently played its proper role.

Israel now has a new government, led by a man of long experience. This is an appropriate time, therefore, for Israel to take an initiative of electrifying simplicity and value: to declare a halt to new settlement-building. With this one step, hopes for peace might be rekindled throughout the region.

There is the possibility that if Israel takes this bold initiative, Arab states and the Palestinians would not respond promptly, although I believe they would. But as we have learned from a decade's hard-won

diplomacy in the Middle East, it is the true act of courage that offers the best prospect for breaking political log-jams. It is the inspired act that captures the imagination of governments and peoples not only in the Middle East but far beyond it as well.

THE U.S. has long pursued the goal of Arab-Israeli peace for many reasons. We are committed to the security and future of Israel. As we all said at Camp David, the Palestinian people have legitimate rights and just requirements. We have an obligation to do what we can to limit human suffering. We are concerned that Lebanon not continue to be subjected to the offshoots of the Arab-Israeli conflict. And we are concerned about the corrosive impact that conflict has on our other interests in the Middle East, stretching as far as the Persian Gulf.

There is no question that the pursuit of peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours requires patience and perseverance. The issues are complicated and hard. Bitterness bites deep within all parties, and history is a hindrance rather than a help in finding solutions. There are no easy diplomatic victories to be won.

During the past decade, we have also discovered that steady, sustained U.S. diplomacy can make a difference, that progress can be made toward the final goal of reconciling Israel and the Arab states to one another. Leaders of both U.S. political parties have contributed to that progress, first through Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy, under Presidents Nixon and Ford, and then through President Carter's diplomacy at Camp David and afterward.

The key lesson of the past decade is that U.S. involvement in diplomacy frequently spells the critical difference between success and failure. When we play our part, which includes an active role for U.S. presidents, there is a better chance of moving forward, and a better chance that the parties will recognize the mutual benefits that flow from commitment to negotiation. When we abstain from an active role, the process of peace is all too often replaced by a destructive drift toward deepening conflict. In the Middle East, nothing stands still. We either move painstakingly forward or we all fall back.

Resolution 242 must remain the benchmark for the efforts of both the United States and the regional parties. Despite recurring conflict in the Near East, 242 remains the best hope of channelling energies away from war and toward peace.

I BELIEVE that the most realistic roadmap for gaining the objectives of Resolution 242 was drawn at Camp David. One of its twin accords has already been realized: the near-miracle of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. The wisdom of President Anwar Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin turned two enemies toward peace and ultimately toward friendship.

The second half of Camp David — full autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza for an interim period of five years — has eluded our grasp. Yet it remains a valid objective. It

was premised on the understanding that Israel and the Palestinians have different visions of the future for the West Bank and Gaza, and that both visions cannot be fulfilled.

By providing for full autonomy and a period in which Israelis and Palestinians would work together on diplomatic alternatives, Camp David argued that time must be placed on the side of reconciliation and compromise. There must be time, it said, for both parties to learn to live with one another before final decisions are made about the future of the occupied territories. In saying all this, I underscore the words "full autonomy". Nothing less will permit achievement of the goal set at Camp David.

More than a year ago, President Ronald Reagan proposed an amended roadmap designed to reach the same objective. The Reagan Plan retains the spirit and most of the substance of the Camp David Accords. Its critics argue that the Reagan proposal is too specific in setting forth a U.S. view of the outcome for the autonomy process: the association of the West Bank and Gaza with Jordan. By contrast, supporters of the Reagan Plan believe that there is need to hold out hope to the Palestinians that the end of the autonomy process could mean Arab control over occupied territories; and to Israel, assurances, which I believe are required, that it would not be faced with a potentially hostile, independent Palestinian state.

In my judgment, President Reagan's proposal was a helpful contribution to advancing the peace process. I regret, however, that it has not proved possible, under either the original formula of Camp David or the Reagan proposal, to move the autonomy process forward.

The continued presence of Israeli and Syrian forces in Lebanon has, so far, delayed the return of the parties to the bargaining table. But, PLO has, so far, been unwilling to agree that King Hussein join the peace process. Opportunities lost in 1981 and 1982, followed by preoccupation with Lebanon, and Syrian intransigence, have meant that the good offices of the United States were not available to test the possibilities inherent in either Camp David or the Reagan Plan.

IT MAY BE that full autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza cannot be secured so long as Lebanon festers. But it is critical, both for Lebanon and for broader peacemaking, that this objective remain clearly in our sight. It is critical that we prepare the diplomatic groundwork — this half of dual-track diplomacy — for turning all parties once again in the direction of a full and permanent peace between Israel and its neighbours.

We should now take several steps. First, it is important that the commitment of the United States be clear, and that the parties to the conflict begin again to face the requirements of a successful negotiating process in these discussions. Indeed, if the United States will stress this goal, articulating the broader vision can help to mobilize

support for the narrower diplomatic process in Lebanon.

It is also important to face squarely the obstacles that lie in the path of peacemaking for the West Bank and Gaza. Creeping annexation of the West Bank is not the only obstacle. Other difficult issues remain to be resolved in the negotiations. It is important to make clear that peacemaking will not halt with the West Bank and Gaza, but also must in time turn to the Golan Heights. This will not remove the veto on progress that Syria has sought to exercise. But at least it will indicate, to most observers in the Middle East that the peace sought is comprehensive, as agreed in the Camp David Accords.

Jordan must be reassured that the United States firmly and fully supports its sovereignty and independence. Israel must be reassured that our support for its security is unyielding. The Palestinians must come to understand that their best hope of fulfilling their legitimate aspirations lies in a political process, not in strife and obduracy. Egypt must be reassured that her willingness to make peace with Israel was the beginning and not the end of Middle East peacemaking. And Syria must recognize that she cannot impose a stranglehold on the peace process.

AS ONE WHO has been involved in the efforts to ameliorate the Arab-Israeli conflict, I believe that we can and must redouble our efforts to revive the peace process. But it will be done only if all the parties to the conflict directly face the consequences that will stem from a failure to act and a failure to recognize the mutual benefits that can flow from successful diplomacy.

We must commit ourselves anew to breathing life into the peace process and recommit ourselves to the goal of achieving a fair and comprehensive peace. To do this, each party must show its willingness to take a series of concrete steps. But, above all, each nation must demonstrate that it has the necessary political will and courage.

I can remember vividly times during Camp David when the obstacles loomed so large that it seemed we could never reach the end of the road. But each of the three political leaders demonstrated time and again that they had the political courage to surmount the barriers that lay before them and to persevere until our common goal was achieved — the fashioning of a framework for peace in the Middle East. Because of this, the Camp David Accords became a reality. Although the hour is late, I believe that, with similar political will, it is still possible to revive the dormant negotiations.

If Moshe were here, I believe he would counsel us, as he always did, to keep the long view in mind and to pursue tirelessly the lofty goal agreed upon — a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace. And he, whose will was strong and vision clear, would challenge us to make the hard choices required.

Courage, imagination, and, above all, political will are needed. Time is short and failure to seize the moment carries with it grave responsibilities for all of us.



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IF ONE of the 115 Jews in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, wants to know how to sing a Hebrew lullaby to her baby, or one of the 315 Jews in Fort Dodge, Iowa, wonders how to build a *succa*, where can she or he turn for help?

Given the isolation of small American Jewish communities, the mediocre state of Jewish education and observance, and the lack of group support for many who want to maintain a Jewish identity, the chances for getting first-hand answers are poor.

Dr. Hertz Fishman, a veteran educator and a member of the Zionist Executive, has proposed an idea to promote Jewish values, experiences and practice among the hundreds of thousands of Diaspora Jews who lack resources of their own.

The American-born Fishman proposes the encouragement — from Jerusalem — of the establishment of hundreds of *havurot*. First established in Boston during the '60s, these sociological units of young Jews were formed in order to share Jewish experiences. Today, there are several hundred throughout the U.S., meeting in private homes or community centres every few weeks for lectures, study and Jewish celebrations.

But Fishman notes that the 60s-style *havurot* were concerned mostly with their own participants. "Their members were not necessarily committed to a distinctive Jewish home lifestyle or to a systematic pattern of home Jewish education for their children."

Fishman advocates an "ideological *havura*," in which members are committed as families to a system of specific beliefs and norms. These include being part of a worldwide, interrelated, mutually responsible network of *havurot* aimed at helping to reconstitute the body polity of Jewish peoplehood; recognizing the centrality of Israel; adopting a daily home lifestyle that emphasizes Jewish culture, practices and values; and raising children in accordance with this ideology of Jewish survival.

THE PROPOSAL comes at a critical time for Diaspora Jewry. "The great bulk of young Jewish parents lack meaningful Jewish education," notes Fishman, "and they have not had intense or satisfying experiences of Jewish living."

Tuning in to Judaism

By JUDY SIEGEL-ITZKOVICH/Jerusalem Post Reporter



Dr. Hertz Fishman

(Zoom 77)

Consequently, they are not able to transmit a convincing Jewish heritage to their children."

In addition, "many Jews find that the groups and organizations to which they belong are large and, in most cases, impersonal. Since much of

our lives involves an ongoing quest for affection, participation, recognition and individual fulfillment," the *havurot* — as small and homogeneous groups — can provide an answer.

Fishman, who officially represents the Conservative Movement on the Zionist Executive but has

been without a portfolio in the nearly two years that he has been on the Executive, presented the idea to WZO chairman Arye Dulzin. The plan, as he envisages it, involves the establishment of a "division of family education" to promote the establishment of *havurot*.

Dulzin accepted his detailed proposal, and offered him a small budget. Fishman neither sought nor received a salary, but he did request a small allocation so that he could get the project off the ground.

But the other groups on the Executive that do not have departmental portfolios immediately protested and demanded their own divisions. Dulzin backed off under the pressure, but did appoint Fishman his "adviser on Jewish family education" and approved his allocation as a part of the chairman's office budget.

DESPITE the change in title, Fishman is going ahead with his idea.

Once *havurot* are established, their initiators are asked to contact Fishman and indicate the nature of the Jewish and general background of the members, their occupations, ages, local Jewish affiliations and the ages of their children. They should also provide a list of some of the key Jewish leaders in the community who may be of help in nurturing the *havura* and a list of Jewish institutions and activities in the area.

On a recent trip to the U.S., Fishman met with leaders of a large number of national American Jewish organizations, and won their approval to sponsor the establishment of *havurot*.

Each organization — about 25 in all — will fund a few pilot units, seek suitable people among its members, and then help them form *havurot*.

"We are not interested in competing with existing organizations. Rather, we want to work with them," says Fishman. In addition, all existing *havurot* (there are lists of some of them) will be invited to join the network on condition that they recognize and accept the ideological principles outlined by Fishman.

Each *havura* will be autonomous. It may comprise one generation or include many generations. Some of the activities of the *havurot* may include:

- Giving their children Hebrew first names, singing or playing Hebrew melodies to their infants, telling them Jewish bedtime stories, playing games involving Jewish motifs, relating episodes of Israel's rebirth, using Hebrew expressions and playing Hebrew records and cassettes, celebrating the Sabbath, Jewish holidays and *havdala* and obtaining a Jewish and Zionist library;
- Group study of Jewish and Zionist sources and discussion of issues affecting the Jewish people and the State of Israel;
- Active individual and group participation in local Jewish affairs;
- Contributing to Jewish educational and charitable institutions, and to Israeli institutions chosen by the *havura*;
- Individual study of classical Jewish works, subscription to Jewish publications;
- Assumption by each *havura* family in rotation of responsibility for a phase of the group's life, like activities for children, for teenagers, family outings, charity, liaison with Jewish organizations, etc.;

FISHMAN SAYS that this set up will help the increasing number of Jewish families with only one or two children, where both parents pursue professional careers and leave children in day-care centres and single-parent families who cannot manage to transmit Judaism to their children on their own. Having other couples and families at hand who share similar values can be of great help.

Much of Fishman's budget will be used to locate written and audiovisual materials available for the specific needs of *havurot* abroad (he wants to establish them not only in the U.S., but throughout the Diaspora), or to produce materials in areas where they are not available. These materials would be sold, at a low price, to the *havurot* which ordered them.

Fishman believes that chairman of the various departments in the World Zionist Organization will not view him as a "threat," but rather welcome him, since *havurot* will be able to serve as a steady clientele for material that they produce,

sometimes without an actual need in the communities.

He expects to use existing WZO emissaries for promoting *havurot*, and to brief those who will in future be sent out about the importance of Jewish family education.

NOT CONTENT with founding *havurot* only in the Diaspora, Fishman is interested in promoting a different kind of *havura* in Israel, seemingly a much more difficult job, since the needs are much different and Israel's time is more limited.

"I have tested the idea in kibbutzim and elsewhere, and the response was very positive. I'm concerned with promoting value oriented Zionism. We have pragmatic citizenship in Israel, but not enough peoplehood. Israel *havurot* could work for the quality of life, fight alienation and anomie, organize family trips," says Fishman with enthusiasm.

It seems like an uphill battle, but Hertz Fishman — a true believer — is determined to fight for his ideas until they reach fruition.

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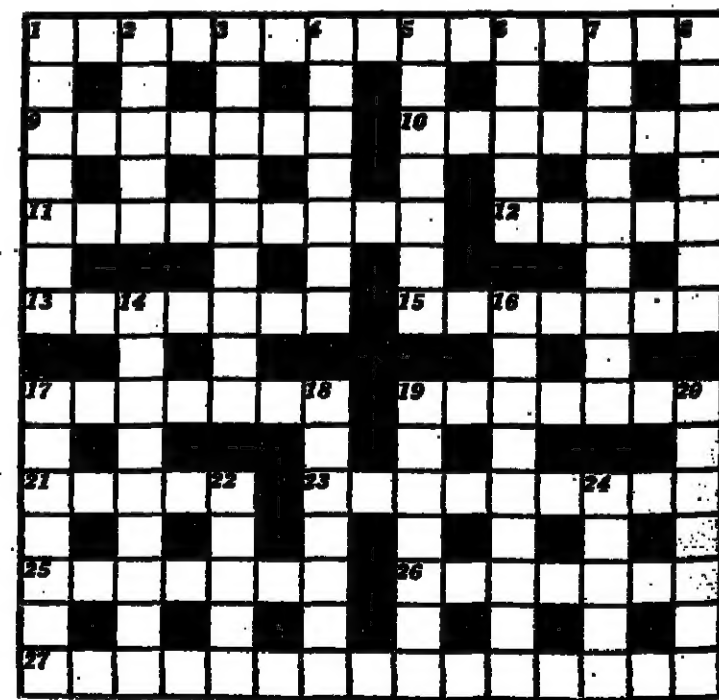
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Cryptic

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DOWN

- 1 It's the disagreeable duty of the army to wear one out (7)
- 2 Rider heroine for Queen? Has no inclination to be (5)
- 3 Returning to "Any Questions?" (9)
- 4 They take measures to see that they have a good "meal" (7)
- 5 People who don't live for their cars (7)
- 6 Enter by going through this door at the far end (5)
- 7 A grey hand-shake? That's a blunder! (8)
- 8 They turn from such printed matter, perhaps (7)
- 14 A drink in the morning produces enlightenment—that's surprising (5-6)
- 16 Give more information on something complicated (9)
- 17 Might the military show it off with them? Indeed! (7)
- 18 Drag out the prisoner doing it vulgarly (7)
- 19 Cocktail stick—one on a bike, maybe! (7)
- 20 Thin pole on the top of a mermaid's tank, for instance (7)
- 22 Change a chemise (5)
- 24 Takes part in a move to stop resting! (5)

'Quickie'

ACROSS

- 1 Shakespeare play (5, 10)
- 9 One under instruction (7)
- 10 Type of show (7)
- 11 Robs of liberty (9)
- 12 Smack, or flavour (5)
- 13 They carry off excess liquid (7)
- 15 Religious speeches (7)
- 17 Marks made by folding (7)
- 19 Pillars (7)
- 21 Made a memorandum of (5)
- 23 Large reptile (9)
- 25 Exaggerate in a play (7)
- 26 Fit for consumption (7)
- 27 Drastic steps (7, 8)

14 It is given to the ill (9)

- 16 Lowers in status (9)
- 17 Help one in sorrow (7)
- 18 Suddenly surprise (7)
- 19 Educational institute (7)
- 20 Films shown on them (7)
- 22 Great sailor (5)
- 24 Part of a plant (5)

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F B E S Y I
A P P L E C H A R L O T T
N E S T I A N R E H
C H R I S T I A N R E I M
Y O U B E O N
A P P E A R A N C E S

QUICK SOLUTION
ACROSS: 1. Allowed, 5. Mistaken, 9. Paraphrase, 10. Surprised, 12. Kitten, 14. Paraphrase, 15. Modicum, 16. Rascal, 17. Ideal, 18. Lured, 19. Treason, 20. 1. Aphid, 2. Leveret, 3. Whip, 4. Depend, 5. Narrate, 6. Youth, 7. Success, 8. Amulet, 9. Elder, 10. Drive, 11. Milan.

Identity crisis of Cyprus

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH/Nicosia

lages, express instinctive alarm when the prospect of coming under Greek rule again is mooted. Even if a future federal arrangement is achieved between Greek and Turkish states on the island, as the Turkish Cypriots propose, movement across the line would be carefully controlled, according to Foreign Minister Kenan Atakol. "There are lots of murderers on the Greek side," he said.

Greek Cypriots readily acknowledge the excesses of EOKA-B, the militant Greek Cypriot organization that spearheaded the campaign against the Turkish Cypriots before the invasion of the Turkish army in 1974 and partition of the island. They say, however, that the Turkish side was guilty of excesses too, and that the mainland Turks harbour ambitions of conquering the entire island.

The Greek Cypriots are angered at having close to 40 per cent of the country — the most productive part — taken by 20 per cent of the population and they refuse to concede that partition is final. Between the lines, however, there is a sense of helplessness about reversing the situation. The Turkish army is closer to Cyprus than the Greek army, and more powerful.

BY THIS November negotiations had been going on for seven years to find some way of having a unified country that at the same time gives rights to the Turkish Cypriots as a community, not just as individuals. For the Turkish Cypriots, this meant an autonomous, defensible enclave and equal political powers on major federal issues, despite numerical inferiority.

Convinced that agreement with the Greek Cypriots was impossible, Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş invited the 40 members of his legislative assembly to his home for a late dinner on the night of November 14 and announced that he would make the next day to establish a new state — the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

There was considerable hesitation for fear that economic sanctions by the international community against the breakaway state would make it totally dependent on Turkey. Left-wing opposition parties discussed the question all night but in the morning the vote for independence was unanimous.

Denktaş had called in the Turkish ambassador before going to the assembly in the morning to inform him of the pending act. As soon as the ambassador had passed on the message to Ankara, the Turkish Cypriots cut telephone and telex communications with the outside world to avoid pressures until

independence had been declared.

A MEASURE of cooperation still exists between the two sides. The Greeks, who have the only power stations, provide all electricity to the Turks' state — partly in exchange for water provided to the Greek side of Nicosia and partly out of fear that the Turkish armed forces would knock out the power plants if the Turkish Cypriot sector were blacked out.

Each morning, a United Nations officer crossing no-man's-land between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot organization that spearheads the campaign against the Turkish Cypriots before the invasion of the Turkish army in 1974 and partition of the island. They say, however, that the Turkish side was guilty of excesses too, and that the mainland Turks harbour ambitions of conquering the entire island.

The daily routine parallels the exchange of Jordanian and Israeli newspapers each morning on Allenby Bridge. Likewise, the evening news bulletins in Turkish on Greek Cypriot television and in Greek from the Turkish station is an echo of the language-reversal by Israel and Jordan TV every evening.

To a visitor from Israel, the Turkish-Greek dispute is a mirror image, only slightly distorted, of the Israeli-Arab dispute in many of its physical and emotional characteristics.

THE ALMOST total lack of political empathy between the two sides is also reminiscent of the Arab-Israeli dispute. Both protagonists dig in behind their grievances and choose to see no justice in the dark forces across the border. In Turkish Nicosia, prominent signs point to the Museum of Barbarism, dedicated to Greek atrocities. The Greek side provides visitors with extensive literature on Turkish atrocities. The words Enosis and EOKA are rarely seen on the Greek side anymore. But they can still be seen on the Turkish side scrawled on walls of villages which formerly had Greek residents — partly because the peasants are too poor to paint the walls, partly because the Turkish Cypriot authorities are not unhappy about perpetuating reminders of Greek militancy.

Although both sides strenuously woo the Arab world for economic reasons, the random mention of Israel generally draws a surprisingly friendly response.

"People think Israelis are a war-loving people, but they're the opposite," says a young Turkish Cypriot government official in Nicosia who spent several months on Kibbutz Ramat Hakovesh as a volunteer a decade ago. "I went to find out the secret of their per-

sistence and determination. I found that what made them strong was not that they were warlike, but that they were human and civilized. The Israelis know the Arabs better than the Arabs know themselves."

The official recalled watching on Israel TV the visit of then German chancellor Willy Brandt to Yad Vashem. "He cried there because he repented. The Greeks haven't repented. Sure, terrible things happened in history, and the Turks did terrible things too. But to put them behind you, the guilty party has to repent."

In Famagusta on the east coast, a Turkish businessman, hearing the Israeli inflation rate mentioned as he joined a conversation, said, "Sure they have inflation. They're fighting the whole Arab world. And they never lose."

He recalled watching Jewish "illegal" immigrants captured by the British being off-loaded in Famagusta port after World War II and taken to an internment camp outside the town. "I remember them marching off the ship singing all together. People on the walls [of Famagusta's Old City] threw them oranges. One man who obviously never saw one before tried to eat one with the peel."

Pointing to a snack bar beneath the city wall at which people were waiting for a ferry to the Turkish mainland, he recalled a British army lorry parked there and the cry of a baby coming from the back, where a Jewish refugee was giving birth moments after being taken off the boat.

Inside the walls was an arcaded one-storey building that had been a British storehouse to which Jewish refugees would be brought from their camp to pick up supplies.

"My father had a shoe store just across the street," said the businessman. "Some of the Jews who were shoemakers would come in for materials. I remember the numbers on their arms. One day just after the war, when there were still German P.O.W.s here, the British made a mistake and brought a group of prisoners to the warehouse just as a group of Jewish refugees was arriving. A tremendous fight broke out and the British then made sure they brought them on different days."

He recalled that a friend who had been seriously hurt in falling off a horse was treated by a Jewish surgeon who was an inmate of the camp.

ISRAEL HAS a consulate in Nicosia and there are a few Jewish families living in Cyprus, but there is no Jewish community as such. Twenty or 30 years ago, when Cyprus was as far "overseas" as most Israelis could afford to travel, it was a fairly popular vacation spot for people from here, many of whom went to buy steam irons and record players — the luxury items of the day. Some Cypriots still recall with awe the Descent of the Israeli Shopper. Some stores in Nicosia put up signs in Hebrew. Today, relatively few Israelis visit the country, although it is a popular spot for British people seeking Mediterranean beaches and Gulf Arabs seeking escape from the summer heat in the island's mountains.

سلا على الأمل

Heavy gains on small turnover

TEL AVIV. — Yesterday's action in the share market marked a superb finish to the week. The profit taking fell for several sessions was sufficiently moderate to encourage individual speculators and portfolio managers to enter buy orders which led to sharply rising prices.

Gains of up to 10 per cent were seen in all sectors of equity trading, except for commercial and mortgage bank issues.

For commercial bank stocks that were part of the agreement with the Treasury, it was another frustrating session as their prices declined by up to two per cent. The bank and mortgage shares outside of the agreement, performed smartly, with gains of up to 8.9 per cent, as was the case with First International Bank.

Along the way, 24 securities that are registered as "buyers only" while only one single security entered the "sellers only" list. Moreover, there were no fewer than 3 securities which advanced by more than five per cent.

Only nine securities were down by more than five per cent. Trading turnovers were just below the IS\$35m. mark. However, turnovers included only IS\$193m. of trading in non-banking issues. It was obvious to all concerned that the public continued to abstain from re-entering the market.

Trading activity in the index-linked bond market continued to be the very moderate side as only \$45m. changed hands. However, quiet trading conditions were accompanied by broad advances in various index-linked bond groups. The gains varied between 3 and 3.0 per cent. The shekel was valued by \$4 agorot in relation to the American dollar.

In the mortgage bank group the "Binyan Bubble" did not burst, as expected. After two consecutive sessions of being registered "sellers only," the Binyan shares had been rocked for a loss of 10 per cent. However, yesterday's downside damage was limited to the comparatively minor loss of only 10 per cent. The Tefahot Mortgage issues

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MÖRGENSTERN

were down by somewhat more than four per cent.

The specialized financial institutions equities participated in the general market rise. Clal Leasing 0.1 and Agricultural pref. were both 10 per cent higher.

There was little to complain about in the positive price action witnessed in the insurance group which advanced by 3.2 per cent. Hadar 1 was up by 10 per cent while Phoenix 0.5 was nine per cent higher.

The services and trade issues followed suit. Ten per cent gains were carved out by Delek, both Lighterage shares, both Cold Storage stocks, Clal Computers and Nikuv Computers. There were very few losers.

The land development, real estate and citrus plantation issues were even stronger. Amnonim was 10 per cent to the good while its attendant option zipped ahead by 15 per cent, during the morning session. Ten per cent gains were picked up by Drucker 5, HLB 5, Bayside 0.5, Israel Citrus Plantations 0.1, Hadarim Properties, Caesarea 0.1 and Shenhar.

Industrials were in good demand and represented the second strongest group of shares on yesterday's market place. Alliance was up 10.1 per cent Elbit was unchanged

as Elron gained 2.1 per cent. Aris was unchanged while Ata C continued its winning ways and rose by 5.6 per cent. Delta-Galil 3 advanced by a full 10 per cent. The Delta-Galil option rose by 28 points but this represented a percentage advance of 55 per cent. Israel Can 5 rose by 9.1 per cent as both Lodzia issues were advancing by margins of 10 per cent each. The Dead Sea Works were 7.7 per cent higher. At 1265, the price of this premier share high represents a record recovery.

Investment company issues attracted the spotlight as being the single strongest group of shares. Piron, which announced a 100 per cent bonus share distribution, saw its shares rise by 10 per cent, for the second consecutive session. Pama 0.5 was also among the 10 per cent winners, as was Leumi Investments. The best performance in the group came from Clal 50 which surged ahead by 15 per cent. The Clal 10 shares were "buyers only" for the second consecutive session. The Clal Israel option soared by no less than 76 per cent to 255. Clal Industries was 6.2 per cent higher, the Israel Corp. 1 shares picked up 8.8 per cent.

Meir Ezra and Son (1980) Ltd. announced that its first time ever financing issue was slightly more than fully subscribed.

Discount Bank announced that its efforts to sell its shareholding in Alaska-Sportlife to MIF Glico have been terminated. It confirmed that some of the mutual funds are holding substantial positions in Alaska.

STEVEDORES

(Continued from Page One)

Ashdod port for nine development towns and five Druse villages in the north on Sunday, and the second shipment will leave Ashdod on Monday for 10 development towns in the South.

The Board has also decided to give the Zahavi organization, which deals with families with many children, two carloads of fruit. Each carload will contain 7,500 crates, and each crate will weigh about 18 kilograms.

Shipments of cotton valued at \$10 million are being delayed in the ports, the Cotton Production and Marketing Board announced yesterday.

"Not only have we received complaints from our buyers abroad, but our reputation as a punctual supplier is being wrecked," the board announced.

The avocado growers meanwhile have appealed to the ministries of finance and agriculture, and to Agrexco, to provide air transport next week so they can fly 100 tons of avocados to meet commitments to European importers.

The Treasury reacted with "no comment" to reports yesterday that Finance Minister Cohen-Orgad had proposed on Wednesday to Prime Minister Shamir to use soldiers to load produce onto ships. Privately, however, Treasury officials said that the reports were "not serious."

The seaman's unions said last night that they would do everything in their power, including shutting down the harbours, to foil what they called the "militaristic attitude" of the government to use the army to break the strike.

They said they were "shocked and revolted" by the reports that the government was contemplating such a step.

Shipping circles expressed doubt about the army's ability to do the stevedores' work.

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Emergency Meeting for All Insurance Brokers and Agents

Due to the attempts by the Insurance Companies to initiate one-sided and unfair decisions in the elementary insurance branch, which will have serious consequences for insurance clients and the status of insurance agents, an emergency meeting of brokers and agents is being held to consider this problem.

The meeting will be held on Monday, December 12, 1983 at 3 p.m. at the B'nai B'rith hall, 10 Rehov Kaplan, Tel Aviv.

INSURANCE AGENTS CONCERNED WITH THE WELFARE OF THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY AND IN THEIR OWN FUTURES, MUST ATTEND THE MEETING.

Association of Insurance Brokers and Agents in Israel

18 Rehov Gruenberg, Tel Aviv 65811 Tel. 657019, 653919

UNITED MIZRAHI BANK

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DOLLAR PAZ AND "EURO PAZ" PRICES		FOR \$12.83	
CURRENCY BASKET		PURCHASE	SALE
"DOLLAR PAZ", 1 UNIT		303.5828	306.6339
"EURO PAZ", 1 UNIT		355.6554	359.2300
S.D.R.		102.4362	103.4657

FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCHANGE RATES			
		FOR \$12.83	
COUNTRY	CURRENCY	CHEQUES AND TRANSACTIONS	BANKNOTES
		PURCHASE SALE	PURCHASE SALE

USA	DOLLAR	1	97.98%	98.4724	96.5100	100.4500
GERMANY	MARK	1	141.0531	142.4708	138.9200	144.6000
FRANCE	FRANC	1	35.8992	36.2397	35.3200	36.7000
ENGLAND	POUND	1	11.8114	11.9301	11.2200	12.1100
SWITZERLAND	FRANC	1	32.0168	32.3866	31.5300	32.8200
NETHERLANDS	GILDER	1	44.8763	45.3274	44.1900	46.0000
SPAIN	PESETA	1	12.2270	12.3499	11.8800	12.5300
ITALY	LIRE	1	12.7996	12.9283	12.4000	13.1200
GREECE	DRACHMA	1	9.8432	9.9836	9.6000	10.1300
PORTUGAL	ESCUDO	1	16.7945	16.9633	16.3200	17.2200
ARGENTINA	PESO	1	78.7681	79.5998	76.5900	80.7500
BRAZIL	CROSS	1	88.5964	89.4868	84.1100	91.6400
INDONESIA	RUPIAH	1	80.7878	81.5998	67.6300	68.3000
AFRICA	RAND	1	17.6748	17.8522	50.1200	52.1700
ASIA	SCHILLING	10	50.8894	51.4009	55.7300	60.7400
YEMEN	LIRE	1000	59.2499	59.8454	55.7300	60.7400
YEMEN	YEN	1000	319.6471	323.8647	413.3100	430.1900

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UNITED MIZRAHI BANK

AMERICAN ISRAEL BANK LTD.

FOREIGN CURRENCY			
Yesterday's foreign exchange rates against the Israeli Shekel, for U.S. dollar transactions under \$5,000 and transactions of other currencies, under the equivalent of \$500.			
US\$	Selling	98.9730	97.3874
DM	Selling	142.4221	141.0038
DM	Buying	142.4221	141.0038
FRF	Selling	11.8268	11.8078
FRF	Buying	11.8268	11.8078
Swiss Fr.	Selling	45.2717	44.8208
Swiss Fr.	Buying	45.2717	44.8208
Norwegian Kr.	Selling	12.3538	12.2407
Norwegian Kr.	Buying	12.3538	12.2407
Danish Kr.	Selling	8.9844	8.9849
Danish Kr.	Buying	8.9844	8.9849
Finnish MK	Selling	15.9978	15.7987
Finnish MK	Buying	15.9978	15.7987
Canadian \$	Selling	79.5571	78.7545
Canadian \$	Buying	79.5571	78.7545
Australian \$	Selling	89.4884	88.5953
Australian \$	Buying	89.4884	88.5953
Belgian Fr (10)	Selling	81.8280	80.8151
Belgian Fr (10)	Buying	81.8280	80.8151
Belgian Fr (10)	Selling	17.8555	17.6776
Belgian Fr (10)	Buying	17.8555	17.6776
Austrian Sch (10)	Selling	51.3745	50.8529
Austrian Sch (10)	Buying	51.3745	50.8529
Yen (100)	Selling	42.3776	41.9556
Yen (100)	Buying	42.3776	41.9556
Italian Lira (1000)	Selling	59.8024	59.2068
Italian Lira (1000)	Buying	59.8024	59.2068

GOLD: \$402.50/402.403.00.

INTERBANK SPOT RATES:

US\$	1.4373/83	per \$
DM	2.7327/27	per \$
DM	2.1855/55	per \$
Swiss Fr	2.2990/90	per \$
French Fr	166.78/78	per \$
Italian Lira	3.0605/05	per \$
Danish Kr	233.45/45	per \$
Yen	9.9115/15	per \$
Danish Kr	8.0040/40	per \$
Swedish Kr	7.8513/13	per \$

FORWARD RATES:

1 month	3 month	6 month
S.C.	1.4383/33	1.4397/97
DM	2.7342/42	2.7370/70
S.C.	2.1865/65	2.1893/93
S.C.	2.1865/65	2.1893/93

Commercial Banks

IDB B	11110	n.c.	n.c.
IDB B r	3545	1136	-1.7
IDB B r	3660	n.c.	n.c.
IDB B r	3660	n.c.	n.c.
IDB B r	3660	n.c.	n.c.
IDB B r	3660	n.c.	n.c.
IDB B r	3660	n.c.	n.c.
IDB B r	3660	n.c.	n.c.
IDB B r	3660	n.c.	n.c.
IDB B r	3660	n.c.	n.c.

Land, Real Estate, Citrus

Delta Galil	181	181	+10.0
Delta Galil	181	181	+10.0
Delta Galil	181	181	+10.0
Delta Galil	181	181	+10.0
Delta Galil	181	181	+10.0
Delta Galil	181	181	+10.0
Delta Galil	181	181	+10.0
Delta Galil	181	181	+10.0
Delta Galil	181	181	+10.0
Delta Galil	181	181	+10.0

Mortgage Banks

Admon B	910	11	+10.1
Admon B	910	11	+10.1
Admon B	910	11	+10.1
Admon B	910	11	+10.1
Admon B	910	11	+10.1
Admon B	910	11	+10.1
Admon B	910	11	+10.1
Admon B	910	11	+10.1
Admon B	910	11	+10.1
Admon B	910	11	+10.1

Financial Institutions

Shilon B	145	307	n.c.
Shilon B	145	307	n.c.
Shilon B	145	307	n.c.
Shilon B	145	307	n.c.
Shilon B	145	307	n.c.
Shilon B	145	307	n.c.
Shilon B	145	307	n.c.
Shilon B	145	307	n.c.
Shilon B	145	307	n.c.
Shilon B	145	307	n.c.

Insurance

Aryeh r	368	179	+20.5
Aryeh r	368	179	+20.5
Aryeh r	368	179	+20.5
Aryeh r	368	179	+20.5
Aryeh r	368	179	+20.5
Aryeh r	368	179	+20.5
Aryeh r	368	179	+20.5
Aryeh r	368	179	+20.5
Aryeh r	368	179	+20.5
Aryeh r	368	179	+20.5

Trade, Services & Utilities

Galzi Zohar	192	70	+17.5
Galzi Zohar	192	70	+17.5
Galzi Zohar	192	70	+17.5
Galzi Zohar	192	70	+17.5
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Galzi Zohar	192	70	+17.5
Galzi Zohar	192	70	+17.5
Galzi Zohar	192	70	+17.5

Industrials

Agan Chem	665	165	+15.2
Agan Chem	665	165	+15.2
Agan Chem	665	165	+15.2
Agan Chem	665	165	+15.2
Agan Chem	665	165	+15.2
Agan Chem	665	165	+15.2
Agan Chem	665	165	+15.2
Agan Chem	665	165	+15.2
Agan Chem	665	165	+15.2
Agan Chem	665	165	+15.2

Oil & Oil Exploration

Delek Explo	180	142	n.c.
Delek Explo	180	142	n.c.
Delek Explo	180	142	n.c.
Delek Explo	180	142	n.c.
Delek Explo	180	142	n.c.
Delek Explo	180	142	n.c.
Delek Explo	180	142	n.c.
Delek Explo	180	142	n.c.
Delek Explo	180	142	n.c.
Delek Explo	180	142	n.c.

Most active stocks

Hapudim R	2413	95.735m.	-35
Hapudim R	2413	95.735m.	-35
Hapudim R	2413	95.735m.	-35
Hapudim R	2413	95.735m.	-35
Hapudim R	2413	95.735m.	-35
Hapudim R	2413	95.735m.	-35
Hapudim R	2413	95.735m.	-35
Hapudim R	2413	95.735m.	-35
Hapudim R	2413	95.735m.	-35
Hapudim R	2413	95.735m.	-35

Bank of Israel exchange rates

U.S. dollar	98.4801
British sterling	141.5651
German mark	36.0251
French franc	11.8654
Dutch guilder	32.1568
Swiss franc	45.0545
Swedish krona	12.2900
Norwegian krone	12.8665
Danish krone	9.9357
Finnish mark	16.8847

New York Stock Exchange

NEW YORK.

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

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Tevet 3, 5744 • Rabia-Awwal 3, 1404

Untimely quarrel

ON THE FACE of it, the vocal disagreement between Deputy Premier David Levy and Premier Yitzhak Shamir is over the question whether Mr. Levy should, or should not, be allowed to exchange the housing and construction for the foreign affairs portfolio currently held by Mr. Shamir. In fact it is over Mr. Levy's unacknowledged desire to be the next premier himself.

Mr. Levy lost out to Mr. Shamir after Menachem Begin bowed out. But the deputy premier's vaulting ambition, though set back, has not been extinguished. Although he has made a name for himself in housing and construction, Mr. Levy plainly feels that a more prestigious ministry would serve him better as a launching pad in advance of the next Knesset elections.

Yet his new position must not be such as to pose too daunting a challenge — which is no doubt why he spurned the offer of the Treasury before Yigal Cohen-Orad snapped it up. Mr. Levy is not one to take undue risks.

In any case, Mr. Levy claims that he had the promise of foreign affairs when Mr. Shamir formed his cabinet two months ago. "Sources close to the premier" stoutly deny the claim, but the denial need not be taken too seriously. It is more reasonable to assume that Mr. Shamir has simply changed his mind about a promotion for his deputy that would involve a surrender of some of his own prerogatives.

Now that he is no longer viewed as a mere "transition premier" Mr. Shamir is anxious to build a power base for himself. There is certainly no reason for him to assist a rival such as Mr. Levy to accumulate power.

To be sure, Mr. Shamir must want Mr. Levy in the cabinet, for the one-time Beit Shean politico can carry with him, or so it is alleged, most of the North African community. But he must also want him down. The humiliation caused to the deputy premier by the chief's failure to report to him on the progress of the talks in Washington last week can only have been deliberate. Mr. Levy's angry response to this humiliation could well have been foreseen. But now the deputy premier may also be branded as a splitter who raises the spectre of a Labour-like internal rift within Herut ranks.

To the public at large, the most relevant issue is nevertheless Mr. Levy's fitness to be foreign minister. Mr. Shamir is said to believe that he lacks the necessary professional qualifications, and the overwhelming majority of Israelis agree. But this could change if Mr. Levy were given a chance to prove his mettle. The example of Ernest Bevin, a great British foreign secretary, although an enemy of Zionism, is a warning to all those who look down their noses at untutored former union leaders.

Sheer professionalism is not everything. There is also the little matter of intelligence and ability. In the past Mr. Levy has shown himself to be both intelligent and able. For a time he even served a useful role as a guardian of the cabinet's conscience on foreign affairs and security. He, more than any other minister, stood up to Ariel Sharon during the Lebanese war, and he was the only cabinet member to voice reservations about the employment of the Phalange in "cleaning up" Palestinian refugee camps.

More recently, however, Mr. Levy has offered evidence suggesting that his earlier conduct may not have been more than a momentary aberration. Attempting to prove attachment to Herut doctrine, he has been pushing the cause of settlement in Samaria even at a time of financial stringency. And in open defiance of the premier he hastened to sound the tocsin about an imminent Syrian attack on Israel.

On balance, then, it is by no means certain that Mr. Levy's appointment as foreign minister, quite apart from its wider national significance would be an improvement on the existing situation.

Positive trend

THE STATEMENT by five leading Arabs of East Jerusalem and the West Bank condemning Tuesday's terror bombing of a Jerusalem bus is most welcome, even if it equates that outrage with "violence against civilians" in Ein Hilwe and Nabulus. True, the initiative for the statement came from an Israeli Jew, a member of the left-wing New Outlook movement. But the decision to publish it in the Arabic press was that of the five Arab leaders themselves.

Their action suggests a break with the old Palestinian practice of trying to excuse plainly inexcusable crimes against Israeli civilians by the PLO. Responding, in effect, to Premier Yitzhak Shamir's mocking comment in the Knesset, after the bombing, on the PLO's "moderation," the five appear to be saying: "Please do not tar us with that brush." Mr. Shamir, in fact, yesterday welcomed their statement as a "positive trend."

The five have not broken with the PLO — indeed they continue to support its "legitimate leadership." They do not denounce the organization itself, professing to believe that it could not possibly, despite its own acknowledgment, have sanctioned Monday's murderous attack.

Nevertheless these five persons, who include two deposed mayors, represent a group among the Palestinians that is open to a dialogue on peaceful coexistence with Israel, based on the premise of the essential separateness of the two nations. Strangely, it is this very group that is being systematically harassed and hounded by Israel's military government.

TERRORISM AND DIPLOMACY

By DAVID BERNSTEIN

LAST TUESDAY'S bomb outrage in Jerusalem could conceivably have been just another example of the sporadic terror Israel has endured for most of the past two decades: more devastating than anything the city has known for the past five years, but nonetheless no more significant than any of the others.

But its timing, at a critical point in the history of the PLO, which has claimed responsibility for the blast, may not have been incidental, and the incident itself could mark the start of a new phase in the enduring PLO-Israel struggle.

PLO chairman Yasser Arafat is on the point of leaving Lebanon, ignominiously, for the second time in less than 18 months, driven out of his last stronghold in Tripoli by Syrian-backed rebels in his own organization. It is reminiscent of his predicament in August last year, when he was driven out of Beirut by Israel.

Arafat has managed to survive his latest ordeal, at least physically, but he is now on the threshold of a struggle to rebuild his battered credibility as worthy leader of an effective PLO.

He embarks upon that struggle with considerable credit, far more than might have been expected coming to a man so severely mauled twice over the past 18 months.

His popular appeal among Palestinians, both in the administered areas and in the refugee camps of Lebanon, remains remarkable.

ably untarnished, driving home the point — again, for the second time in 18 months — that there is no direct correlation between his military might and his claim to leadership of the Palestinian cause.

But he cannot hope to count on that indefinitely, and he is going to have to, in the months ahead, work hard to parlay his popular appeal into undisputed leadership of the PLO, as yet the only broadly acknowledged voice of Palestinian nationalism.

THE BOMB blast in Jerusalem could conceivably have been Arafat's first move in his upcoming struggle to heal the rift in the PLO and to repay the political debt he owes to those PLO leaders who continued to support his leadership throughout the Syrian-backed rebellion, even though they are highly critical of many aspects of his leadership.

Foremost among these were George Habash and Naif Hawatmeh, the leaders of the two largest groups in the PLO after his own mainstream Fatah. It was their support, possibly more than any other factor, that thwarted Syria's efforts to effect a *putsch* against Arafat from within the PLO, and which, in the final analysis, saved his skin.

But while they were prepared to

support his leadership, they made it plain all along that they were in sympathy with many of the rebels' claims — including that of a more militant line against Israel — even if they were not prepared to endorse their recourse to internecine bloodletting to achieve their goals.

And they have made it equally plain that Arafat is going to have to go some way towards meeting those claims if he is to retain their support in the upcoming struggle.

Tuesday's blast could, quite conceivably, have been the first instalment of Arafat's debt repayment to Habash and Hawatmeh.

MATTI STEINBERG, a lecturer and researcher at the Hebrew University and one of Israel's leading authorities on the PLO, believes that the outrage was very probably the work of Arafat's PLO mainstream rather than his radical opponents; that it may, in fact, have been the opening shot in his struggle to rebuild his credibility.

He notes that several weeks ago, Said Kamal, one of the leading pragmatists in the PLO and a strong supporter of Arafat's diplomatic offensive against Israel, sat in an interview with the Saudi newspaper *al-Yom* that what the organization now needed was "a spectacular action inside Israel" — and he gave the reason why: "We need to prove

we exist."

Steinberg believes Tuesday's blast could well have been the kind of "spectacular action" Kamal had in mind, noting that responsibility for the explosion was first claimed by the Cyprus-based Palestinian news agency Wafa, which is totally under Arafat's control. This would appear to indicate that even if it were not in fact, the work of Arafat's mainstays, he is prepared to accept responsibility for it.

The fact that the action came on the very eve of Arafat's departure from Lebanon is also highly significant, Steinberg notes, as it would serve to pre-empt any claim by the rebels that he is now impotent to carry the "armed struggle" to Israel.

STEINBERG WARNS that there could be further such outrages in the months ahead as Arafat goes about reconstituting himself as the effective leader of a unified PLO.

But he stresses that this would by no means indicate that Arafat has abandoned the search for a political solution, probably in cooperation with Jordan, even if he is forced to soft-pedal this for the time being.

Arafat has never, in fact, seen any contradiction between armed struggle inside Israel and a diplomatic offensive. On the contrary, the two

have long been seen as complementary, part of a single strategy designed to achieve a single goal. Kamal, in the *al-Yom* interview quoted above, gave expression to the identical view. In addition, stressing the need for a "spectacular action inside Israel," he stressed the need for a PLO peace initiative based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

So, Steinberg concludes, any tactics that take place inside Israel the months ahead could, somewhat paradoxically, indicate that Arafat is preparing the ground for renewed diplomatic offensives against Israel — and not that he is given in to the rebel demand for armed struggle in place of diplomacy.

Before he could embark upon such an offensive, he would have to prove to his rivals that he is not opting for diplomacy out of weakness because he has no alternative, but because he believes it is the most effective means of attaining Palestinian national goals.

The true sign that Arafat has finally abandoned diplomatic Steinberg notes, would be his sanction of terrorist actions against Israeli and Jewish targets abroad something, unlike actions inside Israel and the administered territories, he has long condemned counter-productive to his efforts to evolve a credible diplomatic posture.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post Middle East affairs reporter.

READERS' LETTERS

CYPRUS CAMPS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In February 1984, it will be 35 years that the refugee camps in Cyprus were closed. More than 50,000 illegal immigrants passed through these camps on their way to Eretz Yisrael.

A committee of former illegal immigrants and emissaries has decided to set up an organization to perpetuate this special episode as educational and informative material for all those who did not experience it personally, as we did.

We want to draw up a list of all those who participated in this episode in the history of aliya. In the name of the committee, I appeal to all those who passed through the Cyprus camps — immigrants, emissaries and representatives of the Yishuv institutions — to write to us, giving full particulars: name, date of arrival and departure from Cyprus, name of vessel, party affiliation, job, names of other immigrants in the Cyprus camps, and any further relevant data. Letters should be addressed to me, c/o "Cyprus," Tel Aviv Municipality.

ITZHAK ARTZI
(Formerly Herzog)
Tel Aviv.

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — It is difficult to understand why Professor Benjamin Akzin (November 30) alleges that, in my article "Apparent moderation" (November 23), I seemed to "accept and support" the thesis, which he ascribes to Dr. Susan Hattis Rolef, that "there is no essential difference between individual and non-selective mass terrorism."

No such view was expressed or implied in my article. Its subject was accurately defined in its title: to analyse statements made by Mr. Yitzhak Shamir, on TV and in private and press interviews, in order to reach a better understanding of the man who, as prime minister, has the power to make momentous decisions on behalf of all of us.

Although I do not intend, on this occasion, to discuss the subtle ethical distinctions between various varieties of terrorism, there is one flagrant omission in Professor Akzin's article which should not be passed over. In listing the groups whose purpose is "to weaken the regimes they oppose by sowing panic among the general population" and for whom civilians are

FALSIFYING HISTORY

the "intended victims," he did not mention the Irgun Zva'i Leumi.

At least during the pre-war period, the Irgun perpetrated a number of deliberate attacks against Arab civilians, in which scores were killed and injured. In May to July 1939, for instance, there were indiscriminate IZL attacks at the Rex cinema in Jerusalem, the Arab village of Bir-Ades, and the Arab market in Haifa, as well as numerous attacks on Arab passers-by.

The execution by the British of Shlomo Ben-Yosef, who did not even fire a shot, was a judicial atrocity, and he faced death with exemplary fortitude. But what was the act for which he has been canonized by the "Jabotinsky school," with a street in his name and a stamp in his honour? His declared purpose was to kill Arab civilians, and thus to break the official Jewish Agency policy of *havlaga*, self-restraint, which meant using weapons only against armed men, and not against civilians.

The danger is that the policy of

honouring the memory of all who fought for Israel's independence, with or without the official sanction of the pre-State "national institutions," may not only falsify history by giving the impression that there were three more or less equal "underground movements," but may appear to condone Jewish "counter-terrorist" attacks on Arab civilians — with results that we can see in recent events in Judea and Samaria.

MISHA LOUVISH

Jerusalem.

LATE TV

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I thank Marian Glucksmann for her letter of November 24. I too am one of the many who would be glad if Mabat were advanced by at least one hour and — more important — who is deprived of the best and most interesting TV programmes since almost all of them are being transmitted in the late hours. Not everyone is in a position to acquire a video set.

LISA MICHAELIS

Jerusalem.

NEWS IN ENGLISH

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — With reference to Phil Gilon's article about the lack of news in English on Israel TV and resultant correspondence on the subject in your columns, I would like to draw your attention to a coloured advertising cube which was produced by Bank Hapoli and Jarcard at our initiative.

This cube carries the times which English and French news broadcast over Kol Yisrael and distributed in all the rooms of the five-star hotels which have no receivers.

This is, of course, no solution to the lack of news in English on Israel TV, but it is a constructive step our information campaign.

DAVID KOST
Information Department
Ministry of Tourism
Jerusalem.

PENFRIENDS

AJAY JUGRAN (18), of D-4 Hathibarskala Estate, Dehra Dun 248001, India, would like to be Israeli penfriends. His hobbies: palmistry, politics and philately.

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